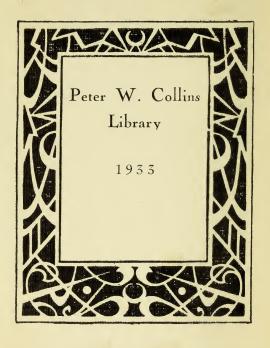
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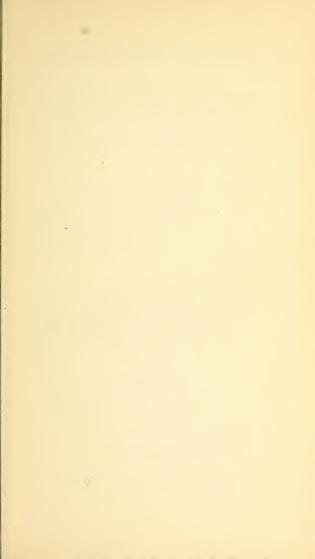
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SOCIAL PROBLEMS

BY

REVEREND MORGAN M. SHEEDY

First President of the Catholic Summer School of America; author of "Christian Unity," etc.

The great mistake that is made in the matter now under consideration is to possess one's self of the idea that class is naturally hostile to class; that rich and poor are intended by nature to live at war with one another. So irrational and so false is this view, that the exact contrary is the truth. Just as the symmetry of the human body is the result of the disposition of the members of the body, so in a state it is ordained by nature that these two classes should exist in harmony and agreement, and should, as it were, fit into one another, so as to maintain the equilibrium of the body politic. Each requires the other; capital cannot do without labor, nor labor without capital. Mutual agreement results in pleasantness and good order; perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and outrage.

Now, in preventing such strife as this, and in making it impossible, the efficacy of Christianity is marvelous and manifold. First of all, there is nothing more powerful than religion (of which the Church is the interpreter and guardian) in drawing rich and poor together, by reminding each class of its duties to the other, and especially of the duties of justice.

POPE LEO XIII.

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PREFACE

VERY student of Social Science is deeply interested in the subjects discussed in the following pages. The matter treated of is of profound importance since it deals with practical issues of vital interest to the peace and stability of society. All who are honestly striving to solve the labor problem, those who have given some thought to the broader question of Socialism, will gladly welcome any aid, no matter whence it comes or how slight it may be, that will make their task less difficult.

More especially is it hoped that the great body of our American workmen and the members of our Reading Circles may derive some benefit from this publication. Every one understands that the influence and teaching of the

Catholic Church must have great weight in the final adjustment of the bitter conflict that goes on to-day in the industrial world. The practical outcome of the teaching of the Church is felt and constantly reflected in the close relations that necessarily exist between labor and capital. It becomes, then, a matter of great moment to know exactly where the Church stands; what principles she upholds and approves; what principles she rejects and condemns.

Following the guidance of Leo XIII. in his Encyclical "On Labor," which is appended to the book, the writer has endeavored to set forth the doctrine and position of the Catholic Church. The form in which the subject-matter is given to the public is substantially the same as that in which it was presented to the students of the Summer School at Champlain, New York, and to those of the Winter School at New Orleans, this year.

In the preparation of the work, a large number of authorities were consulted. To the Reverend Father Fin-

lay, S. J., the writer begs to acknowledge his indebtedness for the assistance received through his excellent paper on Socialism.

MORGAN M. SHEEDY.

ALTOONA, PA.



REV. D. F. WEIALEN.

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PART I

THE CHURCH AND THE WAGE-EARNER



PART I.

THE CHURCH AND THE WAGE-EARNER

CHAPTER I.

BASIS OF DISCUSSION — THE ORIGIN OF THE LABOR PROBLEM.

6 HE term "labor question" is a modern, concrete expression, used to represent the demands which the employed may make of employers. belongs entirely to the present system of industry, and is to be understood only from a full consideration of industrial conditions. In the middle of this century it simply stood for the demand for less hours or more pay. As intelligence has increased, as machinery has been developed, as labor has been more and more subdivided, as hygienic and physical conditions have improved, the phases and ramifications of the labor question have increased proportionately, until to-day it stands for all the elements involved in the industrial system.

It is a short term for the evolution of industrial forces, and includes a wide range of sociological studies. It embraces the wants of the wage-earner, and such wants comprehend the discussion of the just and equitable distribution of profits or the products of labor and capital. It is in this latter sense that the vital elements of the labor problem, whether from an economical or moral point of view, may be found; for the just distribution of profits can best be discussed on grounds covering both economics and ethics; since it is now recognized that justice and equity are involved in the consideration of such distribution.

It is true that a just distribution of profits, by which support and provision for old age may be secured, as well as passing support, depends much more upon the cost of living, habits of frugality, temperance, good morals, sanitary conditions, educational privileges, and various forces of a moral nature,

than upon purely economical conditions. The labor question must, therefore, be discussed on a broad and comprehensive basis, not merely on economic grounds.

The age has been one of material progress, and economics have ruled almost at the expense of ethics. The strides civilization has made command our admiration, and its onward steps are marked by numerous and convincing evidences, but such evidences are outside of economics and are only considered by the economist as the cost may enter into the distribution of the wealth it seeks to create, and not as a means for a better and happier condition, wherein wealth could be more successfully produced.

It is, therefore, legitimate to consider the labor question at least one of paramount importance to any question which commands public attention. The welfare of the wage-earner is enhanced by all those efforts which seek to ameliorate miserable conditions surrounding any portion of the human race; which seek to allay discontent,

to prevent violence and crime, to increase temperate habits, to foster moral and religious growth, to procure the best social environment, to increase the opportunities for mental culture, to preserve the integrity of the family, to raise the standard of citizenship, to strengthen the political structure, to elevate individual character—in fact, to secure the highest conditions, in all respects, of the human race.

The labor question, to-day, and social science are nearly, if not fully, synonymous terms. It is the broadened intelligence of the wage-earners which has enlarged their demands to such proportions that their demands are made not only upon their employers, but upon legislation and the whole body politic. Under the feudal system the laborer was cared for in all his physical wants by the feudal lord.

Under the succeeding, or wage system, he has been left to care for himself. Theoretically, his wages are paid according to his capacity and not his wants. Practically, under competition, his wages are paid too much in accord-

ance with his necessitous wants and not sufficiently in accordance with his capacity. In this last respect, we find the origin of the labor question.

What has been said applies to the wage-earners of all countries in which the modern industrial system has made any considerable progress, and it is substantially the same in all its phases in all such countries. The labor question, as such, has nothing to do with Anarchy, with Communism, or with Socialism, although all three of these philosophies take on many of the phases of the labor question, and in the minds of many persons there is, consequently, a confusion of ideas connecting the one with the others, and all forming the general question. The workingmen of America have no occasion to be Anarchists, nor Communists, nor Socialists, although were all their demands conceded to them, our American governments would find themselves more thoroughly on a socialistic basis than that upon which they now rest.

The wage-earners in the United States, that is, those who work for fixed wages or

small salaries, constitute in round numbers about 20,000,000, or three-tenths of the whole population; the average income of the wage-worker does not exceed \$400.00 per annum. This body is represented in sex as about five males to one female.

CHAPTER II.

HONEST DIFFERENCES OF OPINION.

"EHE conflict between those who have and those who wish to have is said to be irrepressible, and yet it is agreed that if they could work in harmony, the result would vastly increase the general welfare. Whether the present depression is drawing the rich and the poor, the employer and the workingman, closer together, is a question worthy of consideration."

The interests of labor and capital are identical; to obtain the highest results both should work in perfect harmony. To bring about a satisfactory adjustment of the differences that exist—that is one of the problems of the age. It has taxed the best minds in two hemispheres and the highest statesmanship to find an adequate solution.

After years of close and careful study of the industrial question in its various phases, honest men are still widely apart, both in theory and the practical results of their investigation. And this applies to those who have been actual participants, whether on the side of labor or capital, in some of the most important labor contests of our day, just as much as it does to the looker-on or speculative thinker.

Writers on political economy are no more agreed in their views and the application of their remedies than are the representatives of labor and capital. From the rankest Socialism to ultra-Conservatism we discover every grade of opinion and doctrine. So much disturbance has been created in society by the growth of false teaching on this subject and the frequent outbreak of strikes and lockouts that there is scarcely a nation that has not found it necessary to fully examine the question.

To-day a labor conference is held by direction of the young Emperor of Germany in Berlin to stay the rising tide of democracy; to-morrow, a royal commission on labor sits in London to discuss the questions which English trades-unionism has brought to public attention. Here in the United States there is no end to the conferences and conventions of labor, all looking to the betterment of the conditions of the wage-earner. Among the many congresses held during the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, not the least important was that of Labor.

There is, then, both among students and practical men of affairs a deep searching for sound principles which underlie this whole problem in the hope that a way can be found by which equal and exact justice may be finally rendered to employer and employed; a means by which the suicidal war which has so long threatened the world of industry may be ended; a peaceable and satisfactory solution of the grave questions in controversy may be reached; and a higher and better industrial system, resting on the solid basis of justice, may be permanently established.

It is, indeed, a hopeful sign that we are nearing a solution when we find so much serious thought given to the subject. The true friend of the wage-earner and the capitalist, the students and specialists in industrial topics, the representatives of the various organizations of labor and capital, have come to a clearer understanding of the issues involved.

Here in the United States, where there is a growing state of social unrest, because of the conflict between labor and capital, much reliance is placed on the practical good sense of the people and our capacity for self-government to solve this question.

CHAPTER III.

LEO XIII. ON THE CONDITION OF LABOR.

Our the clearest and fullest light comes to us on this vast and important subject, the industrial question, from that quarter towards which the world has invariably turned for light.

In the Encyclical of Leo XIII., "On the Condition of Labor," the highest expectations of all who looked with interest for its promulgation were fulfilled. It is indeed the most important utterance, most opportunely given, of the statesman Pope. And that is much to say with the remembrance of his preceding Encyclicals on the Christian Constitution of States and Human Liberty.

Presented to the world in the midst of the religious feast of Pentecost, may we not hope that it shall be understood in all languages as the inspired discourses of the apostles; and may it regenerate the worn out and unbalanced order of a world that is suffering from a crisis and the pains of a new birth. It has been remarked that a century ago, in 1791, the French Revolution, by a definitive decree, abolished the corporations which formed the base of the ancient social order. In 1891 Leo XIII. promulgates a new economical character at the very moment when industrial society, founded on the Manchester doctrines, tends towards ruin. And for this act of his, the Pope receives a special message of congratulation from the (present) republican government of France. Leo has well chosen this fateful hour to teach the world the true social gospel.

After all, men must be brought to see that the papacy alone remains the great international power to-day, as it was in past ages; that it is possessed of sufficient authority and strength; that it is sufficiently sure of itself and rich in light and energy to attempt the supreme task of reconciling the contending forces of society and establishing social harmony.

Across the "tottering thrones and drooping sceptres," Leo XIII. notes the rising tide of democracy; he sees

that the old order must give way to the new; that the twentieth century, which we are rapidly approaching, will be, what the late Cardinal Manning prophesied, "the people's century." It is the effort to harmonize the eternal teachings of the gospel with the actual necessities of the modern world that bestows on this Encyclical the character of a message of arbitration and makes it a species of "Truce of God." And all this is accomplished with a perfect knowledge of the whole question, filled though it is with intrinsic and technical difficulties, with varying and constantly changing conditions.

The composition of the Encyclical presupposes an acquaintance with the whole range of the vast literature of the subject of which it treats. This he has reduced to a clear and accurate series of important statements. It is only a master mind who could bear this Atlas-burden and make this synthesis. Herein we have summed up the teaching of the Church on the labor question. All Christian tradition is embodied in its utterances.

In reading the Encyclical the mind almost unconsciously reflects on the transforming action of the Church in the world. It recalls the days of those celebrated monasteries where the religious became shoemakers, masons, carpenters, laborers, mingling manual labor with meditation and the chanting of the praises of God. It takes us back to the apostles who taught the rich to make due provision for the wants of the poor, so that "neither was there any one needy among them;" it revives the memories of the guilds of former ages; it suggests a picture of the artisan monk who, in the austere silence of the trappist's life, realizes the dignity of labor. Nay, more, it carries the mind and heart of the reader back to Him who taught that "the laborer is worthy of his hire," and whose example, as the Carpenter of Nazareth, has merited for the workingman in every land that Christian nobility which constitutes his greatness before man and God.

What specially strikes one in studying this Encyclical is the fatherly tenderness and sympathy that is displayed by the Pope. He deals with the problems nearest the hearts of the common people. Let us consider a few. The right of private property in land; the relations of capital and labor; the sacred rights of the wage-earner; differences between employers and employees; strikes; the proper regulation of the hours of labor; and lastly, workingmen's guilds, insurance and beneficial societies.

What is the teaching of the Supreme Pastor on these subjects which are of such tremendous importance in our day? Let us summarize the principles and proportions of the Encyclical. The scope of this paper does not require that we follow too closely the line of argument or the many proofs so luminously set forth.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RIGHTS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY.

N the first place, the Pope clearly defines the inviolability of private property, especially in land. For obvious reasons this teaching is of special interest, since it sets aside as false and contrary to sound morals the doctrines of Henry George and the Anti-Poverty Society. He shows how it is for the best interest of the wage-earner to maintain and stand by the true Catholic doctrine.

He considers the methods of cure proposed by the Socialists as utterly futile or as infinitely worse than the present evils of competition. By abolishing private property and transferring individual possessions to the community, this would simply create the most cruel tyranny ever established in civilization, and "strike at the interest of every wage-worker,"

for it "would deprive him of the liberty of disposing of his wages, and thus, of all hope and possibility of increasing his stock and bettering his condition in life."

Under this system, the individual would have no rights, the community all rights and all power. It would be a frightful despotism, under which society would sink into apathy and eventually into barbarism. The individual would be a slave, and the freedom with which he had parted would never come back to him, unless after a conflict longer and fiercer than any mankind has waged in the whole course of its fights to throw off the shackles of tyranny.

Society, too, would be unfitted for such a conflict, because of the supineness produced by its complete enslavement, and, therefore, the contest would be long and savage, marked by the terrible atrocities inseparable from an insurrection of slaves. The result would be the destruction of the fabric of our present civilization and all the material and spiritual treasures contained within it.

The conflict would be between a mass of helpless serfs, stripped of every material possession, made desperate and ferocious by their condition and surroundings, and a few masters who would have succeeded in securing all power and every resource of the community. That would be the outcome of this false theory, if there were found any community guilty of the great folly of experimenting with it.

Again, Leo XIII. proves to the workingman that his highest interests are involved in the Catholic doctrine on the right of private property. The aim and object of the wage-worker in hiring his services to another is to obtain a recompense which he may dispose of according to his necessities or his convenience.

Now, if by economy and self-sacrifice he is able to set aside a portion of his earnings, he certainly has a full and perfect right to make use of this as he thinks proper. If, for the sake of greater security, he invests his earnings in real estate, he simply puts them into another shape, reconvertible,

when he so desires, into money. The land which he purchased with his savings is undoubtedly as much his as the wages were with which he bought it. He can dispose of the one as he did of the other. But this is neither more nor less than the right of private property. As the Holy Father puts it:

"Nature, which is never wanting in things necessary, must have furnished mankind with some stable and reasonable method of providing for his wants. Now, where do we find such provision, except in the unfailing and teeming fertility of mother earth, so that he may secure for his existence not only the fruits of this year's crops, but also have a guarantee of similar fruits in future. Consequently, the right of private property in land comes under this head by the very law of nature, and to deprive man of it is to do him a grave injustice."

This argument is drawn out at some length, and to it are added the sanction of Scripture, of sound reason in every age, and the answer of our Divine Lord to the young man who had large possessions.

CHAPTER V.

WHERE THE TRUE REMEDY MAY BE FOUND.

e AVING dealt with the fundamental principle of private property, which is an essential element in the remedy proposed to better the condition of the wage-earner, the Pope proceeds to point out where the true remedy can be found and how it is to be applied.

No practical solution of the labor question, he reminds the world, will ever be arrived at without the assistance of religion and the Church. The rulers of states, the wealthy, the employers of labor, and the great army of workers in every land are earnestly reminded that all the striving of men will be in vain if they leave out the Church.

"It is the Church," says the Pope, "that proclaims from the Gospel those teachings by which the conflict can be put an end to or at the least be made far less bitter; the Church uses its efforts

not only to enlighten the mind, but to direct by its precepts the life and conduct of men; the Church improves and ameliorates the condition of the workingman by numerous useful organizations; does its best to enlist the services of all ranks in discussing and endeavoring to meet, in the most practical way, the claims of the working classes; and acts on the decided view that for these purposes recourse should be had, in due measure and degree, to the help of the law and of state authority."

With this object in sight, after denouncing speculators in human labor, he urges the state to safeguard those boards of arbitration, wherever they exist, that help the wage-earner to secure fair wages.

S. P.-3

CHAPTER VI.

WAGES, HOW COMPUTED.

©ET us examine closely the words of the Encyclical on this subject of Because ever since labor became free, all the great disturbances in the industrial world have been chiefly caused by a difference between labor and capital on the rate of wages. It is here that the interests of employer and employed begin to diverge, and it is on the question of wages that strikes and lockouts mostly originate. In an inquiry into the origin of strikes and lockouts, out of a total of 813 labor contests investigated, 582 or 71.59 per cent. were caused by differences as to rate of wages. Of these 582 contests, 86 per cent. were for advances in wages, and 14 per cent. against reductions.

While these exact proportions will

not hold in all cases, nor in all sections and industries, it is safe to say that by far the most prolific sources of labor disputes are differences as to wages.

It will also be found that many disputes that are not primarily disputes about wages, have a direct bearing on rates of wages, and are important only because of such bearing. Apart from rates of wages, the causes of these differences are legion.

Trouble may arise concerning the basis of computing wages; the method, time or frequency of payment; the store system; hours of labor; the holidays and weekly half holiday; apprenticeship; administration and methods of work, such as shop rules, labor-saving machinery, piecework, objectionable workmen; trades unions and their rules, and a thousand and one causes that we daily hear of. Nothwithstanding their number, however, it will be found that all causes of differences readily group themselves into three general classes:

1st.—Differences as to future contracts.

2nd.—Disagreements as to existing contracts.

3rd.—Disputes on some matter of sentiment.

In the first division would be classified differences as to future rates of wages, and those arising from attempts to change or abrogate existing agreements, customs, or methods or to introduce new ones.

Disagreements under the second class arise either upon matters of fact or construction, having in view existing agreements, customs, or methods, and not necessarily involving the validity of the contracts themselves, nor any change in their terms.

Under the third head are included those quarrels that grow out of the offended amour propre either of the individual or the organization.

It is in the first of these classes, i. e., "Differences as to future contracts," which, as stated, includes questions as to future rates of wages, that disputes most frequently occur and in which the gravest difficulties arise in harmonizing conflicting interests and hostile views.

What is "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," is a difficult and complex problem to solve. Concerning its solution there are honest differences of opinion even upon the basis or principle on which it shall be decided. With the ebb and flow of the tides of business, of prices and demand-so frequent in these days of the increased effectiveness of labor and rapid transportationwith the constant changes in methods of production or conditions of work, and the introduction of improved machinery so common in this age of invention, comes an ever-recurring necessity for a revision of the contracts or agreements governing the relation of employer and employed, and with it the possibility of differences as to what changes the new conditions demand.

Let us take, for instance, the iron and steel business, the glass trade, or the coke industry of western Pennsylvania, and we shall see at once how easy it is for difficulties to arise, unless there be found some means of forestalling them. The competition of trade, high or low tariff, the facilities and cheapness of

transportation, the methods of production and other conditions imply the necessity for frequent revision of agreements as to the rates of wages.

In Pittsburg, which is the heart and center of the iron and steel interests of the country, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers holds an annual convention to determine the "scale" or rate of wages for the ensuing year. When the "scale" is agreed upon by the workers, it is then submitted to the employers and where differences are found they are eventually adjusted by conferences of both parties.

This arrangement has worked successfully for years, there being only one or two notable instances when it failed, and the result was a bitter and deplorable fight. The miners, coke and glass workers have much more trouble in settling the question of wages. With them strikes and lockouts are much more frequent and are attended—as in the case of the frequent strikes in the Pennsylvania coke region, where many lives were sacrificed and valuable prop-

erty destroyed—with painful and disastrous results.

It is, right here, on this important matter of wages and the usefulness and benefits of labor associations that Americans especially will find in the Encyclical of Leo XIII. sound and practical principles of guidance. Let us analyze what he has laid down.

CHAPTER VII.

THEORY OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

N the first place, it is to be observed that there is a wide divergence between the Pope's teaching and the views of most of modern political economists who proclaim that supply and demand is the great law that always and everywhere determines the rates of wages.

And they insist that this law is inflexible. Hence it is held by the advocates of this cruel law that the wage-earner should be satisfied with the market price of his labor, whether that be high or low. Profits or the selling price of the manufactured article, they tell us, has no direct bearing on the rate of compensation that the workingman receives. His wages are fixed by the inexorable law of supply and demand in the labor market.

In combating this heartless doctrine of the modern school of political economists, Leo XIII. lays down certain principles that ought to be accepted by all just and right-thinking persons. Here is what he says:

"Wages, we are told, are fixed by free consent; and, therefore, the employer, when he pays what was agreed upon, has done his part and is not called upon to do anything further."

In proving how false and unjust is this view of the relationship existing between the employer and the employed, the Pope calls attention to the fact that man's labor has two notes or characteristics. It is, in the first instance, personal, inasmuch as the muscular power or exertion put forth by the laborer is individual or personal to him, and he employs it for his personal benefit. The second characteristic of labor is that it is necessary, as without the results of labor man cannot sustain life. "Self-preservation is a law of nature which it is wrong to disobey." After directing attention to these two characteristics of labor, the Encyclical says:

"Now, if we were to consider labor merely so far as it is personal, doubtless it would be within the workman's right to accept any rate of wages whatever; for in the same way as he is free to work or not, so he is free to accept a small remuneration or none at all. But this is a mere abstract supposition. The labor of the workingman is not only his personal attribute, but it is necessary; and this makes all the difference. The preservation of life is the bounden duty of each and all, and to fail therein is a crime. It follows, then, that each one has a right to pro-cure what is required to live, and the poor can procure it in no other way than by work and wages."

Wages should not, therefore, be measured by what is required to keep the workingman and his family alive. The Pope has no faith in the bread-andwater theory, or in the scaling-down process to the lowest minimum wages that is often practiced by wealthy corporations and grasping employers. No; he does not believe in this, and he says so in unmistakable language.

After stating that it is usual for workmen and employers to agree or make a contract as to wages, and under all ordinary circumstances this contract is binding, though the case may arise when the wage-earner is not morally bound to stick to the agreement, the Pope adds:

"There is a dictate of nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man, that the remuneration must be enough to support the wage-earner in reasonable and frugal comfort."

And equally important is the statement that immediately follows this:

"If," he writes, "through necessity or fear of a worse evil, the workman accepts harder conditions because an employer or contractor will give him no better, he is the victim of force and injustice."

This extract from the Encyclical sets before us the true basis—and the lowest at that—upon which the rate of wages is to be computed. And it also furnishes an answer to those who cry out against the work-

ingmen who sometimes break agreements into which they had been forced by fear or necessity to enter.

The laborer is not a piece of machinery to be purchased at the least possible cost, or thrown aside as worthless when it is of no further use. Nor is he a mere animal needing provision for bodily wants only. No, he is infinitely higher than that monstrous conception which the materialistic philosophy of these times furnishes.

He is a man, with God-given faculties of high and noble dignity, having the most sacred relations and owing the most solemn duties to his Maker, and having spiritual and mental aspirations that require to be satisfied just as much, nay, more, than the wants of the body.

He should, therefore, have the means of reasonably meeting these wants. And it is only when capitalists and economists get this true idea of the workingman that the wage question, the eight-hour day question, Sunday work, and other questions can be fully settled.

CHAPTER VIII.

STARVATION RATES OF WAGES—A PRAC-TICAL ILLUSTRATION.

NOW, let us take a practical example that will fully illustrate these principles.

In Pennsylvania there are thousands of men employed in the coal mining and coke region. The labor of these workers is hard, unhealthy, and, in the case of the miners, attended with more or less danger to life. The labor, especially of the miner, might be classed as skilled. Taking account, therefore, of these circumstances, the wages of this class ought to be such as to enable the miner and his family to live in "reasonable and frugal comfort."

What are the average wages paid in the bituminous coal districts of Pennsylvania? Perhaps the figures will furnish an explanation of the frequent strikes in the mining and coking regions which have been attended with much loss of life and property.

A bulletin issued by the Census Superintendent shows that in 1889 the average number of persons in the mines of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, was 6,567. The total amount of wages paid was \$2,644,425. This is an average of about \$420 a year to each person, or head of family, or about \$1.35 a day. And from this is to be deducted the tolls levied in the "Pluck-me" stores which still flourish in the coal regions. In Westmoreland County, the same State, the miners averaged 9,109 in number, and were paid in wages \$4,064,950, or an average to each person of about \$445. In Allegheny County the sum of \$3,497,-893 was paid to 9,386 miners, or an annual average to each miner of about \$373.

Anyone examining these figures must see at a glance the difficulties the head of a family has to meet in housing, feeding and clothing himself, wife and four or five children on a dollar and thirty-five cents a day. The payment of \$373 a year, which is the rate received by the average miner in Allegheny County, divided in a family where there are five persons to be supported, means about \$75 to each person, or a dollar and a half a week. Of course, "reasonable and frugal comfort," of which Pope Leo XIII. speaks as due the laborer, is out of the question on such compensation as this.

It may be said that the census calculation was based on the average wages paid the miner within the year and not on the average wages received while the miner was actually at work. If the calculation were made on the latter basis, the rate would be much higher.

The answer is that the miner has to support himself and his family the year round on what he earns in a year, and this is, therefore, the proper basis on which to figure. If he works six days and earns \$15, and then is idle six days, his average daily pay for the twelve days is \$1.25.

Again, it is said that the miners are themselves largely to blame for their condition. They inaugurate a strike on little or no cause; if work is suspended in the mines because of excess of production or dullness in the coal trade, the miners, as a class, will remain in idleness for months rather than work at anything else; and, lastly, that they are improvident and generally intemperate in their habits. Consequently, it is held, they themselves are in a large measure responsible for their hard lot.

Whilst it must be admitted that there is some ground for these charges, the experience of the writer for four or five years as resident pastor in a mining district proves them to be in the main unfounded. I witnessed a number of strikes and I often thought that the miners lent too ready an ear to the agitator or the advocate of violent measures; I also felt that thrift, foresight and a little domestic economy would do much to improve their surroundings and make their homelife more enjoyable; I saw that intemperance worked its dreadful havoc here as elsewhere. But making the most ample allowance for these things, what the Holy Father aptly calls "the cruelty of grasping speculators" in human labor, supplies the true explanation of the miners' situation today. And it is useless to look for any improvement as long as the ordinary operator or capitalist sets no higher estimate on human beings than mere instruments for making money.

Under the store system to which reference has already been made, any coal operator cannot fail to get, rich in a few years, if he employs a large number of men-and this largely at the expense of the miner. I knew a gentleman who having failed in business in one of our large towns was made superintendent of a coal mine by the owners, to whom he was related by marriage. He opened a company's store on his own account and, with the profits from this store and an ordinary salary, he was able to retire from the mining village within a few years a rich man. And this is not by any means an isolated instance. The history of the coal region will furnish many similar cases.

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CHAPTER IX.

WORKINGMEN'S SOCIETIES RECOGNIZED
BY THE CHURCH.

© protect themselves against injustice of this sort; to maintain and secure the highest standard of wages that the worker in the various departments of labor is entitled to; to guard their sacred rights and interests, the Church recognizes and encourages the formation of workingmen's associations or societies.

These societies the Pope would wish to see fashioned after the Catholic guilds of a former day, but subject to such changes as the requirements of this age, custom or circumstances, may demand.

What those who have the real interests of labor at heart must do is to place at the head of these organizations the right persons. Leaders are needed of the highest and strongest character, of great firmness, tact and superior executive ability; in

a word, those whose aim will be to safeguard the interests and promote the welfare of the society without infringing on the rights of employers or others.

Societies, no matter what the avowed objects may be, that are managed by "invisible leaders and on principles far from compatible with Christianity and the public well-being," must be avoided. And the rank and file of labor organizations should see to it that persons of this stamp should never control the society.

We all know how much suffering and misery have been brought to numberless workingmen's homes through the false, and, I do not hesitate to say, wicked counsel of selfish and designing leaders. It is the influence of such men that forces labor organizations to adopt and try to enforce measures that are unjust and tyrannical. By the enactment of these unjust and objectionable methods, strife and ill feeling are engendered, and the good will and sympathy of the public are lost at times when the cause of labor needs the strong support of public sentiment.

To sum up the teaching of our Holy Father the Pope on this subject of labor associations, he believes in the fullest freedom of industrial workers to organize for mutual self-help and protection; he would have all labor unions based on Christian principles and kept under the restraint of religious motives; and he would have the most devoted, disinterested and earnest religious men placed at the head of these unions.

Industrial organizations of which both the wage-earners and employers shall be members, and in which they shall coöperate for the promotion of friendly relations with each other, would be a step in the right direction. Leo XIII. has given expression to a strong desire for the formation of such bodies, because he sees what has been confirmed by experience, that where conferences are held in the proper spirit between employers and employed, the best results follow. Strikes are oftentimes prevented, differences and disputes are amicably settled, confidence is restored, and a better and more kindly feeling established all around.

This method of conference was successfully followed for years until the Homestead troubles by the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of Pennsylvania in arranging the rate of wages, the hours of work, and all matters of importance to the men or the mill owners. By this means strikes are averted, and it would be well if this plan for adjusting labor differences were more generally adopted in all kinds of industry all over the United States.

As long as the present wage system exists, it is the simplest and most effective mode of settling labor disputes. And should conciliation and conference fail, recourse ought to be had to arbitration. Better, too, to arbitrate in the beginning than at a late stage of a prolonged strike or lockout. Strikes are no remedy for a labor grievance. They are rather a means, and oftentimes, if not in all instances, a drastic means of directing attention to a grievance. In the great majority of strikes the strikers lose. They are either starved into submission, or provoked by the capitalist

into deeds of violence and unlawful conduct, then the state steps in and helps to end the strike.

"Everybody can see that strikers are wrong, not only when they resort to arson and murder, but when they resort to any form of trespass or violence or compulsion, whether physical or moral. But preaching to strikers against a resort to extreme measures is about as silly as it is futile. A strike is essentially a war; and war, as General Sherman was wont to say, is hell. Wars and strikes will never be brought under rules and regulations that will transform them into Sunday school picnics."

But let it not be thought that all the worst enemies of law and order are in the tents of the strikers.

"The high-handed outrages that have been perpetrated by some of the men who find shelter in the entrenched camp of corporate monopoly are more detrimental to the public peace and welfare than all the threats of the extreme socialists and all the crazy performances in the name of Anarchy. It is the business of the state to assert its dignity and to bring both sets of disturbers into subordination."

CHAPTER X.

CONDITION OF WORKING WOMEN AND GIRLS.

ORKING women and girls comprise a large and growing class of wage-earners whose condition and claims have until quite recently been almost entirely ignored.

Two circumstances have contributed very largely to the opening avenues of employment for women which were not dreamed of a quarter of a century ago; first, the greed of men, and secondly, the intelligent coöperative efforts of women to force the doors open.

In the first place, in the increase of machinery in manufactures and the multiplication of new forms of employment, men have found women and girls to be cheaper and more profitable and more conscientious in certain branches of work.

Hundreds of manufactures are employing women and girls; saleswomen

and children are employed in great numbers in the large retail stores of our cities; whilst the professional and semiprofessional callings have a constantly increasing representation of women. Until very recently little thought was given to this most deserving body. Working women were helpless, unprotected and without organized union for their defense.

From a report of the Commission of Labor, published at Washington in 1888, on the subject of "Working Women in Large Cities," it is known that the average earnings of 13,822 women and girls are \$5.24 per week. Of this number 373 earn less than \$100 a year, while the majority of the above number earn a little over \$200 per annum.

The New York Sun some time ago carefully investigated the condition of New York, and says that there were then 40,000 working women of that city receiving wages so low that they are compelled to accept charity or starve.

The shopgirl is an important factor in business life, an essential part of the

running gear of every large establishment. She has many grievances, but how few are interested in righting her wrongs! Her cheerful endurance is a most pathetic protest against the injustice of her lot; her triumph over the many temptations daily besetting her, commands our highest admiration. In every great city of America, thousands of weak, young girls are working long hours, oftentimes under unwholesome sanitary conditions, for the merest pittance. What hideous possibilities are suggested as a means of supplementing so meagre an income.

There are numbers of children under age employed for excessive hours, and at work far beyond their strength. The wages which are low, are made still lower by excessive fines. The salaries of saleswomen range from \$2.00 to \$18.00 a week, but the latter sum is only paid in very rare instances. The average salary is from \$4.00 to \$5.00 per week. Cashiers receive from \$6.00 to \$15.00, the average being about \$9.00. Cash girls receive from \$1.50 to \$2.50, and the latter figure is rare. The fines imposed

for a few minutes' tardiness run from five to thirty cents.

From a careful examination of the condition of saleswomen in New York City, this conclusion was reached, that through low wages, long hours, unwholesome sanitary conditions and the discouraging result of excessive fines, not only the physical condition is injured, but—the result most to be deplored—the tendency is to injure the moral well-being.

It is simply impossible for any woman to live without assistance on the small salary a saleswoman earns, without depriving herself of the real necessities of life.

The Holy Father pleads for this class.

"Whenever," he writes, "the general interest of any particular class suffers or is threatened with evils which can in no other way be met, the public authority must step in to meet them."

The social doctrine of "laissez faire" finds scant favor with the Pope. He does not believe in it, nor does he desire that anyone else should accept it either in theory or practice.

CHAPTER XI.

INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY.

E now come to treat of the "sweating system," as it is called, the extent and horrors of which few people outside of those unfortunates who are forced to live under it can realize. It is a system of industrial slavery whose cruelties and oppressions make those of chattel slavery seem merciful in comparison. It furnishes a striking instance of the workings of the competitive system of industry before which its stoutest advocates may well stand appalled.

Only when we look closely at the dark side of the picture do we perceive that our modern civilization, wonderful though it be, has some terrible defects. We see that the raising of the average standard of comfort has not yet availed to banish the direst poverty and distress; that the cleavage of classes is as wide as ever; that the progress in education has served to make more vivid

the realization of the defects of our social system; and that the condition of large masses of the industrial classes threatens the moral and physical well-being of society.

When examination is made into the kinds and conditions of labor carried on more privately in homes, we get many revelations, and here and there we come across a fearful record such as that of the sweating dens to be found to-day in all our cities of America. We blush for Christian civilization when we are brought face to face with the horrors of this monstrous system.

The late James Russell Lowell, in one of his poems, "The Parable," describes Christ, our Savior coming to earth again and what He saw when He came. After telling how the chief priests and rulers and kings pointed out to Him that His images stood sovereign to all throughout the land, it ends as follows:

"Our Lord sought out an artisan, A low-browed, stunted, haggard man; And a motherless girl whose fingers thin Pushed from her faintly want and sin. "These He sat in the midst of them,
And as they drew back their garments' hem
For fear of defilement, 'Lo here,' said He,
'Are the images which ye have made of me,'"

The work that is done in the sweating dens is, for the most part, performed by women and children. It is the cheaper grade of needle work. In these "sweating" shops the hours of labor are from 7 A. M. to 7 P. M., which means that in the winter time the operatives never see daylight outside of the wretched dens where they work.

And the work is carried on under the very worst sanitary conditions. The seeds of disease and death are sown broadcast; there is a slow, grinding, horrible wasting away of moral and physical strength; even life itself becomes a burden almost too heavy to be endured; and many of those poor creatures look forward to death as a boon that will release them from suffering. It is a terrible comment on our civilization that such a condition of things can exist.

CHAPTER XII.

THE WRITER'S EXPERIENCE.

SHORT time ago, accompanied by a physician, the writer visited one of those "sweating" dens. We there found a young girl at work on men's clothing. Her eyes were in a most advanced state of disease caused by the half light in which she had been working for the last year and a half. The physician examined her eyes and declared that within a month or two she would become totally blind. Both the girl and her employer received this information with a careless shrug of the shoulders, the stoicism of utter misery and the heartlessness engendered by an industrial system that puts a lower estimate on human beings than on beasts of burden.

The writer has seen six girls with sewing machines at work in a small hall bedroom of a tenement house with only one window opening within a few feet of a high brick wall. Nor is it a small number who are working under such conditions.

There are tens of thousands of such workers in all our larger cities. In New York and Brooklyn there are seventy-five thousand sewing women. In Chicago there are over one hundred thousand women who are supporting themselves and others by labor. The majority of these belong to the class that we are considering—the poor sewing women. Their lot is sad, indeed. The wages they receive is a miserable pittance. The work is taken by contract, and in order to make enough to keep body and soul together they are forced to work as many as sixteen or eighteen hours out of the twentyfour.

Think of it, it is almost incredible, the mother of three or four fatherless children compelled to sew sixteen hours a day for forty cents, getting eighty cents for a lady's cloak, which the employer sells for \$18.00, or fifty cents for making a dozen pairs of trousers, or

seventy-five cents for making fifteen shirts.

Surely it is the right and duty of the state to step in between these helpless women and their greedy employers.

"If," writes Leo XIII., "employers impose burdens upon those who work for them which are unjust, or degrade them with conditions that are repugnant to their dignity as human beings, or if health be endangered by excessive labor, or by work unsuited to age or sex, in these cases there can be no question that it would be right to call in the help and authority of the law."

Another point to which attention ought to be called in this matter is the illiteracy fostered by this pernicious system. The laws regulating the age of children at work in mines and factories are utterly disregarded in the sweating establishments.

Thousands of children are growing up in those sections of our cities where this system prevails, who, not only cannot read or write English, but are unable to read or write in any language. And these children physically deteriorated, neglected in their morals, degraded by

their surroundings and deadly sanitary conditions, will be the American citizens of the future.

It is difficult, indeed, to keep up one's faith in a millenium within sight of our modern civilization as long as that civilization is marred by such defects and evils as we have been considering. It is well to remember that the highest type of civilization is not that which produces the greatest men or the most wonderful inventions or the greatest wealth, but that which secures the true elevation of the greatest number; that which lifts up and protects the weak and lowly; that which provides for the well-being and comfort of the nation as a whole.

The Encyclical of Leo XIII. casts a strong, white light on all these points that are raised in the industrial world. It is a message of peace and good will to all men. It lays down the eternal principles of right and justice for the guidance of rich and poor, wage-earner, and capitalist. It does not array class against class. It rather points out the line of duty for each to follow, while it

aims to establish and strengthen right relations between labor and capital. It is a reassurance, if there be need of it, that the Church is the friend of the wage-earner, the world over; and that it is part of her divine mission to teach justice and charity to all men.

PART II SOCIALISM AND SOCIALISTS



PART II.

SOCIALISM AND SOCIALISTS

CHAPTER XIII.

SOCIALISM AN IMPORTANT SUBJECT—ITS DEFINITION.

O-DAY, whether we look to the Old World, or the New, the face of society is sadly troubled. Everywhere is manifest a deep-seated feeling of dissatisfaction with the existing order of things. There is in the very air a wave of social unrest. Men's minds are disturbed by the agitations and conflicts arising out of our social conditions. In some quarters are plainly visible well-defined symptoms of approaching convulsions. Outbreaks and deeds of violence are of almost daily occurrence in the very heart of our civilization.

The atmosphere is rent with the cries of Social Democracy, State Socialism, Christian Socialism, and every man-

ner of social sentimentality and mysticism. Socialist societies are establishing themselves in the cities and in our colleges; Socialist lectures are delivered; Socialist discussions promoted; and there are already in every civilized country of Europe and America several Socialist organs in the weekly and monthly press, conducted with a somewhat bitter zeal, and counting among their contributors writers of acknowledged ability.

It is too soon to say what may come of this movement, or what weight ought to be assigned to it. It would be folly, however, to ignore it. Some years ago it was thought that Russia was protected from Socialism by her rural commune, and Germany by her lack of manufacturing industries. Events have shown how erroneous was this view. We, too, may possibly cherish a like error if we fancy ourselves to possess a sure protection against Socialism in the practical character of our people, and our habits of free and open discussion.

The subject of Socialism becomes, then, one of living interest, and we run little risk of over-rating its importance.

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Leo XIII. has said, "It is the great question of our times;" and in truth it is, for the social aspect of our modern thought lends color to the poetry, the romance, the art, the literature, the philosophy, the politics and the religion of the age.

Socialism in one form or another is the chief factor in the forces that are silently transforming the old order, and no student of contemporary events can fail to be interested in its origin and developments. It had its genesis amidst the war and fire of revolutionary struggle, and its advance has been met at every stage by the fiercest opposition.

To present a comprehensive view of that movement which is designated by the general term "Socialism" is by no means an easy task; it is rather difficult to define the subject-matter which we propose to discuss, since the words "Socialism" and "Socialists" have been so variously applied, with meanings apparently so incompatible that it has become extremely difficult to determine for them a sense which would be common to them in all their applica-

tions. There is the political or revolutionary form of Socialism, of which there are several forms or varieties: there is the experimental and philanthropic form, which spread for a time on both sides of the Atlantic, but is now practically extinct; there is State Socialism, which proposes to deal with social questions in the interests of the working classes. And, as there is a violent and irreligious, so there is a conservative and Christian form of Socialism, which aims at removing the injustice and inequalities that exist in our modern society, and looks forward with hope to the establishment of a lasting peace and harmony between the contending elements of our civilization.

But, in the prevailing use of the words there is generally the idea that the socialistic movement, no matter what form it takes, is undertaken to better the conditions of the less fortunate classes of society. The end aimed at is to make this earth that for so many is a "stepmother, a true mother for all who bear the human form."

And, since there are various forms of Socialism, so there are different kinds of Socialists. Bakunin, the most violent of revolutionists, is sometimes described as a Socialist; Count Albert de Mun, the most conservative and scrupulous advocate of social duties as interpreted by Christian law, has been given the same name; Vaillant and Ravachol, to whom, doubtless, the highest achievement of social reform would be the abolition of all religion, are called Socialists; whilst the late Cardinal Manning and our own Cardinal Gibbons, who would reform society by inculcating obedience to the Gospel, have been sometimes described by the same term. We have heard the term applied to the chiefs of the International Labor Association, as well as to some of our clergymen and philanthropists who are striving in various ways to improve the condition of the poor in our large cities.

When the Holy Father issued his Encyclical on Labor he was called by capitalists a "Socialist," but a type, of course, far removed from the author of "Progress and Poverty," whose teaching that document refuted.

It would seem, at first sight, then, that there is absolutely no warrant for the use of a common appellation in reference to men and movements so widely different and apart in motive and purpose. But, when the subject is examined a little more closely, it shall be found that a certain common ground is occupied by these social reformers, otherwise so much opposed; and we may well suppose, also, that those who place them all in the same category, and condemn them by the same epithet, are thinking of the points only on which they agree, more or less, and not at all of the more numerous and important points upon which they differ.

In this, all who style themselves "Socialists," or are reproachfully so styled by others, are agreed that the present industrial order is not what it ought to be, and that social changes must be effected if we are to reach an improved state of society. This may be regarded as the negative side of every program which can be described as Socialistic;

and it is this aspect of the subject that has led the advocates of the existing order to confound names and terms. When we look to the positive side of the movement and inquire into the nature of the remedies proposed for the evils complained of in the present industrial system; when we ask Socialists what they would substitute for the existing system, or that part of it that they condemn; how they would bring about the new and better order of which they speak, we find that they are at once separated into distinct, and for the most part, antagonistic groups.

In examining, however briefly and imperfectly, the elements and phases of the Socialistic movement, including in that term everything to which the name is currently applied, it is necessary to notice: First, what is called the "negative aspect of Socialism;" and then to give some account of the more important of the forms it takes as a positive or reconstructive movement; with what new forms of society it seeks to replace the old, and by what means it proposes to effect this reconstruction.

CHAPTER XIV.

INDIVIDUALISM AND CAPITALISM.

E begin with the defects of our existing industrial system, against which Socialism is a protest, and which it strives to remove. These evils may be summed up under two heads, Individualism and Capitalism. The evils which these terms signify shall be best explained by referring to the circumstances in which the words had their origin.

About the middle of the last century an infidel school of philosophers in France began to assail the fundamental principles of government; they taught this doctrine: That society is based upon a contract freely entered into by men for the purpose of safeguarding their rights; that in society man voluntarily limits his freedom in order to enjoy it the more securely; that society is the creation of the individual,

and, therefore, serves its purpose only in so far as it protects the individual in the exercise of his rights and faculties. It was held by this infidel school that, apart from his own purposes and his own profit, man owed no obligation to social order, nor to any higher power than himself, by whom that order may be prescribed. His own interests were to be the standard and measure of his duty to others. The expression of this doctrine of selfishness as the basis of social life, when carried into the political world found vent in the terrible revolution with which the last century closed.

The proclamation of the rights of man was the logical outcome of the theory of the social contract and its principles, which the economists of France, as well as her philosophers, had been preaching for fifty years. The doctrine appealed with telling force to popular prejudice. The masses hailed with joy the new freedom conferred upon them. The workman shared in largest measure of the new-born liberty; he was suddenly liberated from

the restrictions under which he had been placed in the industrial order of the old régime; the guilds and associations of handicraftsmen were suppressed; labor became a commodity of free traffic, which the laborer could offer in any market to the highest bidder.

But, this radical change introduced by the revolution was not wholly for good; the liberty conferred upon the workman was not an unqualified blessing. For, while he was declared free to dispose of his labor as he saw fit, this freedom did not give any guarantee that he would find someone to accept at its value the labor he was ready to offer. The market was open to many competitors, where each man stood alone, and where all transactions were conducted in accordance with the laws of supply and demand.

Under the old order, the guilds, fostered and encouraged by the Church, had regulated the labor of their members; they were closely united by a community of interests and a fixed code of discipline; they had corporate rights in the industrial system, and their influence and protection reached the weakest member of the association. Moreover, the workman had to deal immediately and directly with the master craftsman, with a member of his own trade, to whom he was bound by the fellowship of his own craft, and by the laws of the craft; he was, therefore, bound by ties which were to a large extent an extension of the family bond.

What was his condition under the new order? It was entirely changed. The workman had to deal directly with the employer, with a man who bought his labor at the lowest figure; who took the workman into his employ and dismissed him pretty much as he would adopt and discard a machine; and who, when he had paid him the wages agreed upon, acknowledged no further duty towards him, and took no further interest in his lot.

The workman soon discovered that the employer was in the fullest enjoyment of that same liberty which he himself prized so much. If there was liberty to sell, there must be liberty also to buy; and, in a contest between the freedom of the workman and that of his employer, the issue was certain that disaster must overtake the party who was forced to sell on pain of starvation, while there was no overpowering penalty or pressure on the purchaser, forcing him to buy. Thus the principle of unrestricted individual liberty has operated in the industrial world. And this is the meaning of the Individualism of which we hear so much.

The doctrine was at first preached with an unbounded faith in its saving effects, and the enthusiasm with which it was hailed blinded men to its obvious defects. It was not seen that Individualism means isolation; and that to isolate the laborer is to reduce him to helplessness; that he is the weakest, though by no means the least important, member of the social body; and that if he is left to himself he is sure to be crushed by the stronger forces with which he will be brought into conflict.

CHAPTER XV.

GROWTH OF CAPITALISM.

LMOST coincident with the practical application of the principles of Individualism was the growth of Capitalism. The inherent evils of the individualistic economy were intensified and developed by the evils of Capitalism. Thus, the social problem became still more complicated, and so continues to the present time.

About the middle of the last century began to rise in gigantic proportions that system of production which the French call *la grande industrie*, and which we, for want of a better name, call Capitalism.

In the older industrial order, production was in the hands of a vast number of manufacturers. The guilds and corporations were local institutions; each master craftsman was a director of industry, and his workshop S.P.—6

an independent center of production. But a great change now took place. The needs of the growing foreign trade with the New World, and the establishment of commercial relations with the distant countries of southern Asia, required that both the production of commodities and their distribution should be undertaken on a large scale; that great enterprises should be promoted; that the means of carrying on these enterprises, that is capital, should be concentrated, placed under the control of fewer hands, and its application directed by a smaller number of highly skilled experts.

Again, to these new conditions others were added. There came the discovery and invention of improved machinery, and the consequent displacement of thousands of busy hands and brains. The capital which had heretofore been dispensed in wages to workmen could be now more profitably invested in machinery and the output of manufacture be wonderfully increased.

It was also pointed out by writers like Adam Smith, that great advantages would result to capitalists from massing their capital and carrying on their productive operations on the largest scale possible; the savings in buildings, in taxes, in wages of superintendence, and numerous other gains which would follow the policy of concentration.

The owners of capital were at once alive to their interests. We have witnessed the vast accumulation of capital in almost every department of industry. Millions of dollars are invested, and a large army of men are controlled by a single corporation. The Carnegie interests of Pittsburg employ 23,000 hands, which means that over a hundred thousand souls are more or less dependent upon a single individual. No mediæval baron was in his palmiest days more powerful than our modern coal or iron "king."

The business of manufacture to-day is mostly conducted by powerful corporations and managed by a small number of skilled men. The owners of the capital, if they do not choose to take part in the industry, can sit at home or enjoy themselves abroad, with the assurance that their dividends will be regularly and promptly paid them.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKMAN.

MEANWHILE, how does the work-man fare? He was now more completely a chattel, the victim of demand and supply, than ever before. He had no longer to deal with an employer who was himself a craftsman, and with whom, apart from any kind of trade fellowship or organization, he could treat as with a creature endowed with human sympathies, and amenable to the instincts of human compassion. He had now to do with a trading or manufacturing company, with an impersonal entity which dealt with him according to the laws of the market in all their rigor; from which he could expect no sympathy; which bought from him the supply of muscular or mental labor that he could furnish, but which took no thought for his needs, and had no concern for his misfortunes.

Soon the great corporations became not merely the purchasers of the workman's labor, but the arbiters of his existence as well.

Capital had taken such an important place in the economy of production that it possessed the power of setting the processes of production in motion, or bringing them to a standstill, at pleasure. The artisan could not work unless the wheels of the great machines revolved, and it depended upon the owners whether they should revolve or not. If there was a prospect of gain for the owner they turned, and the workman was paid what his labor was worth; if the prospect of gain ceased, the wheels became stationary and the workman starved.

Again, the constant inventions which improved and multiplied the mechanisms of manufacture, increased the instability of the workman's position, and not unfrequently added to his hardships. The introduction of a new machine enabled the capitalist to dispense at a stroke with hundreds or thousands of his "hands," and as the "hands" were to him noth-

ing more than machines which had been superseded by the new invention, he dismissed them without scruple, and without regret. There might not be any other employment for them, any other resource than starvation or public charity; but that, after all, was a matter that did not specially concern him. The principle of "natural liberty" left every man to do for himself as he found it best for his interests; the capitalist had to take the course most profitable to himself; if he did not, he would soon be left behind in the race by his less scrupulous competitors.

Furthermore, the capitalist was in a position to make his own terms. The competition for work enabled him to force down the price at which he bought his labor supply; and, as the law of demand and supply was the only law that he felt called upon to acknowledge, he forced it down as low as the competition would permit him. It was not a question to him of the intrinsic value of the work of the laborer; the question was, what were the lowest terms which the applicant for work

would be forced to accept under the prevailing conditions of the labor market.

It is needless to point out that in this condition of things the advantage in the labor contract was, for the most part, on the side of capital. It could not be otherwise. The gains of the capitalists from the processes of industry grew extravagantly, without any proportionate improvement in the condition of the workers; huge fortunes were accumulated by the investors of capital, and, side by side with the luxury and magnificence which these fortunes maintained, the destitution and demoralization of the poor reached vast and appalling proportions.

From a "Report on the Condition of Working Women in New York Retail Stores," facts are set forth from which this conclusion is arrived at: that "it is simply impossible for any woman to live, without assistance, on the low salary a saleswoman earns, without depriving herself of the real necessaries of life;" and cases might be cited "where frail, delicate, refined women, unable to

live on the salaries that they earn, are forced to crime or suicide." The pathetic story of the saleswoman who threw herself from an attic window of a New York lodging house, is the story of many another in our large cities. It is thus that our great merchant princes are created.

How strikingly apt to our times are the words of Goldsmith:

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey; Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

To this consummation the twin principles of Individualism and Capitalism had led in due time; this was the result which the political doctrine of unstinted liberty and that economic policy of unqualified industrial freedom brought forth for the laborer whom the statesmen and economists had undertaken to emancipate. It is against the evils thus produced that Socialism, in all its forms, salutary or dangerous, Christian or irreligious, protests, and it is these evils that it seeks to redress.

CHAPTER XVII.

REVOLT AGAINST CAPITALISM.

S it was in France the new doctrine of absolute industrial liberty was first proclaimed, so there, too, the first voice of rebellion was raised against it. At the time when liberty was declared the inalienable right of every man, Babœuf came forward to announce the claim of the poor on the riches of the wealthy, the equal rights of all men to the earth and its products. The French Directory was not prepared to accept this extension of the rights of man, and imposed silence rather summarily on its author by means of the guillotine.

Fourier, St. Simon and Cabet preached the doctrine of the equal rights of man in the matter of temporal possessions; they founded committees to illustrate the working of their plans for the regeneration of society. We have had, and still may have, a few of these

societies in the United States. The Brook Farm Association was established on this idea. But the teachings of this group of Socialists never had a very strong hold on the popular mind. The plan of giving every man, whatever be his deserts, an equal claim with his fellows on the products of the general labor, is so absurd, so utterly destructive of all industrial effort that the good sense of the masses may be relied upon to scout it. The formula, "from each man according to his capacity, to each man according to his needs" can find favor only with the idle and dissolute who would prey on the labor of others.

It may be said that this group of Socialists aimed at nothing less than the completion of the work of Voltaire, Rousseau and Adam Smith.

Thus Socialism may be well regarded as the legitimate offspring of two great revolutions; of the industrial revolution, which began to establish itself in England towards the end of the eighteenth century, and of the parallel revolution in thought, which, at about the same

time, found its most prominent expression in France.

It is, indeed, a matter of surprise to find in England in the early part of this century, a thoughtful, practical man of business, such as Robert Owen was, advocating and putting into practice theories cognate to those of St. Simon. Owen's Communism, it may be said, was the outcome of human sympathy for the distress and miseries of the poor which the new Industrialism had entailed.

Robert Owen was the son of a workingman, born in Montgomeryshire in 1771. By his industry and commercial capacity, he rose to be the chief owner of large mills in which fifteen hundred hands were employed. The sufferings of the workers moved his compassion, and in his zeal for their well-being, he made them partners with himself in the ownership of the mills. The success of this scheme of coöperation led him to the study of the labor question as a whole. Unfortunately for his theories, he imitated St. Simon in his rejection of religion, and, unfortunately for his

good sense, he imitated Cabet in his attempt to found Communistic societies. His schemes came to naught, as all such schemes must do, and he died in obscurity and poverty, after a long life of struggle against that industrial system which he held to be iniquitous and oppressive to the poor.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ANARCHY AND ITS LURID GOSPEL.

NEW and more violent form of Socialism was put forward in the schemes of Bakunin and Proudhon; by these extremists Anarchy, pure and simple, was advocated as the only means by which to redress the evils of society.

Bakunin was a Russian, whose advanced opinions brought about his early exile from Russia, and who spent his life exciting the labor masses of Europe to a war against the existing social order. His "Catechism of Revolution" lays down the principles on which the Anarchists of the Old World and the New have since been acting:

"The revolutionist," he says, "is a consecrated man; he has no personal interests, no feelings, no business, no preferences, no possessions, not even a name. All within him is absorbed by one exclusive purpose, by one thought and passion—revolution. Not in his

works and acts merely, but in the very depth of his being he has separated himself forever from public order, from the entire civilized world, from the laws, customs, morals and manners recognized by the world. . . . A revolutionist does not find his place in any class of society; he lives in society only in the expectation of its prompt and complete destruction. If any object in the world has value in his eyes, he is no revolutionist. He must not shrink from the destruction of any institution, of any bond of friendship, or of any man who inhabits this earth."

And so on through many pages of a lurid gospel of destruction.

Proudhon is not quite so sanguinary in his teachings, but the scope of his social doctrine is the same: Anarchy, freedom from all order, from everything that bears the name of law.

These, it will be understood, are not theories which can captivate the minds of the people, or which have any chance of general acceptance; they are noticed merely as protests against the existing industrial order.

It was not, however, from England, nor Russia, nor France that the Socialism

came that was destined to establish itself in Europe and America as a power which baffles princes and statesmen, and which, being unable to conquer, they are now seeking to conciliate. Scientific Socialism in all its forms, is of German growth, the creation of the German mind, and has spread, as a power to be reckoned with, mainly through German influence. In no country has the social problem been more deeply studied than in Germany. There, thoughtful minds from the beginning of the new industrial order have made a systematic study of the question.

Thunen, Weitling, and Karl Marlo are known for their bold speculations on the conditions of modern industry, and for the drastic remedies which they proposed for existing economic evils. Robertus, son of a Pomeranian gentlemen, began fifty years ago the study of the condition of the working classes, and did much to direct attention to this question which now ranks amongst the most important subjects of the day. But Robertus was merely a student and he never attempted

to put his theories into practice. His teaching, too, was desultory and defective, presenting no comprehensive scheme for the cure of the evils that he condemned. It was reserved for another German, a man of quite a different cast and temper, to devise and establish a system of Socialism which has had a powerful influence on the social and political life of Germany, reaching far beyond the limits of the German Empire.

CHAPTER XIX.

KARL MARX AND HIS THEORIES.

ARL MARX was born at Treves, in the Rhine Province, in the year 1818. He was a Jew by descent, although his parents had renounced the synagogue in order to secure certain temporal advantages not then accessible to persons of Jewish birth. A brilliant career at the bar, or in the public service was open to him, but he gave himself to literature. His public criticism of the Prussian government drew upon him its hostility, and he was obliged to seek refuge aboard. His teachings and machinations made him a danger to almost every government under which he settled; and at last London was the only place in Europe in which he could carry on securely the propaganda of the system which he founded.

Marx was a man of singular ability, an acute reasoner, with a cogent power

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of stating arguments and enforcing his conclusions. His great work, the store-house of the literature of Socialism, is his book on "Capitalism."

The key to the whole system, developed in this remarkable work, is to be found in the author's notion of "surplus value." A few words will explain the importance of this much employed term. Competition among laborers forces them to accept from the capitalist the lowest rate of remuneration compatible with mere subsistence. In other words, the market value of the laborer's day of toil is represented by the sum which will suffice to maintain himself and his family. Thus, if a laborer work twelve hours a day, the market value of his toil is represented by the commodities which are necessary to maintain himself and his family for the day, that, in fact, is all that he receives for his labor. But the value of these commodities is created by much less than twelve hours' toil; let us say by six or by three. In six hours the laborer has done work equivalent in value to all the commodities he consumes, that is, equivalent to the

wages paid him; the remaining six hours, create surplus value, that is, go to his employer, without remuneration to him.

The aim of Marx was to devise a system under which the surplus value should be secured to the toiler; and he could find no other plan adequate to this purpose than to transfer to the democratic state, that is, to the representative of the laborers themselves, the whole mechanism of production, the land from which all products are derived, and the capital which enables labor to utilize the resources of the land. State ownership of land and capital was, accordingly, the remedy which he prescribed for the evils which oppressed the laboring masses—state ownership, be it noted, in a state strictly democratic, in which the public authorities would be, in the true sense, representatives of the people.

To compass the social revolution which should permit the introduction of his system, Marx availed himself of the International Workmen's Association. It was founded in 1862, and for ten years was controlled and guided in its

operations by Karl Marx. In 1872 it broke up into sections, and henceforth the several nationalities represented in it carried on their operations independently. But the doctrines of Karl Marx still remained the doctrines of the divided sections and the scope of the International remained the scope of the divided parts.

CHAPTER XX.

LA SALLE AND HIS CAREER — FRENCH SOCIALISTS.

ARL MARX had a diligent and enthusiastic disciple in La Salle, who preached the doctrines of the Socialistic gospel with extraordinary ardor and extraordinary ability. He became the oracle and idol of the working classes in Germany.

Ferdinand La Salle was also a Jew. He was born in Breslau in 1825 and killed in a duel at Geneva in 1864. Of his short life he gave no more than the last three years to the preaching of the gospel of Socialism. The remainder of his career was devoted to studies of various kinds, or consumed in adventures, at times surprising, and at times scandalous in character. He came before the public as counsel for the Countess Von Hatzfeldt in a divorce suit against her husband.

His eloquence, his enthusiasm, his reckless defiance of all that was respectable and conservative in German society, attracted the attention of the people; and when he took up their case they listened to his fervid periods as to the words of a savior of society.

In July, 1864, he met the daughter of a Bavarian diplomatist at the Hotel du Rigi, offered her his hand, and was accepted. But the parents of the lady objected to an alliance with the archagitator; and the young lady, disappointed with La Salle's refusal to elope with her, accepted a husband agreeable to her parents' wishes. La Salle challenged his successful rival, and fell in the duel which ensued.

His death was mourned by the working masses of Germany as a national disaster; the homage paid to his remains fell but little short of worship, and something like a cult to his memory was created and maintained by his followers.

At his death the practical policy of democratic Socialism had been initiated in Germany. The plan had been adopted of educating the voting masses in the principles of the new economy; of securing by the votes of the masses thus educated a position of power in the legislature, and ultimately, if it might be, the control of the government. This policy has been adhered to, and worked out with marvelous persistence. In spite of persecution without, and division and dissension within, the Socialist propaganda has gone steadily forward; newspapers have been founded, clubs and societies set up, and great masses of the people won over to democratic So-It has steadily added to its strength in the German Parliament, and at every succeeding election has increased the number of its representatives, until to-day the Socialists are a powerful, well-knit party in the Reichstag.

The French Socialists have borrowed the methods as well as the theories of La Salle. They, too, have been able to return their candidates to the Chamber, defeating ministers and ex-ministers at the polls. To-day the extreme doctrines of social reform have between 140 and 150 representatives in the French Chamber of Deputies.

CHAPTER XXI.

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

N England more so than in any other country, the growth of democratic Socialism has been within the last few years rapid, and is constantly increasing. It has absorbed Trades-Unionism. It also has its representatives in the House of Commons, and its purpose is to increase and control its Parliamentary supporters. At the Belfast Trades Congress, held September, 1893, by a vote of 137 to 92 it was resolved that "candidates receiving financial assistance must pledge themselves to support the principles of collective ownership and control of all the means of production and distribution, and the labor program as agreed upon from time to time by the Congress."

This resolution clearly indicates the Socialistic and political trend of the Trades-Unionism in Great Britain. It

is true some of the labor leaders would prefer to call the system here adopted "Collectivism" rather than Socialism; but this is merely a matter of names. Collective ownership of the sources and means of production implies ownership by the state; and when the state is democratic, the system resolves itself into democratic Socialism.

Hitherto America has in the main repelled Socialism. There has been here comparatively little distress or complaint. Every man with a sound pair of hands and willing to work has had property, or the hope of it, and has been on the property owner's side. Men have been satisfied with a fair start under equal law, and thought that a man in doing the best for himself did the best for all. The inequalities of wealth, as a general rule, have not been too shocking, while great fortunes made by men who have risen from the ranks have rather flattered the hopes of those still in the ranks than excited their envy or hatred.

Industrial promotion has been far easier than it is in the old countries, nor

has the social line between employer and employed been so sharply drawn. Owenism was imported, and it expired like a match dipped into the river. But with the influx of foreign wage-earners have now come the angry organizations, the incendiarism, the strikes, the labor wars of Europe; and Pittsburg and Chicago have witnessed scenes as alarming as the worst industrial conflicts of the Old World. The masses of wage-earning mechanics in which labor wars are bred have increased, and the gulf has been widened between employer and employed.

Still, this continent is comparatively unsocialistic. An envoy of English discontent having come on a mission of disturbance, goes away disappointed, saying that the American workman is a wretch whom no sense of wrongs can rouse to vengeance. Anarchism no sooner kindles its torch than it finds itself in jail with the cordial approbation of honest labor. The fabulous circulation of "Looking Backward" means, as Mr. Gillman truly says, very little. In fact it means little

more than the fabulous circulation of "Trilby."

It is true that in the mining and milling districts of Pennsylvania, in the factory towns of New Jersey and Massachusetts, circulars like the following have been distributed by promoters of disorder:

"We wage war against private property, against the state, against the Church—a war having for its object their utter annihilation. We repudiate the institution of private property because its history is the history of all human suffering. So long as private property prevails, there will be rich and poor, but the latter will be dependent on the former. Whoever, therefore, is truly striving for the happiness of mankind at large, must join us in the ery, 'Down with private property.'"

And the demands of a less advanced section are formulated in the following:

"That all laws for the good of labor be strictly enforced; that eight hours be considered a working day; that no children under fourteen years be permitted to work; that the contract system for public works be abolished; that the convict labor system be done away with; weekly payment of wages, and no more truck stores; enforcement of the lien law for the enforcement of unpaid wages; the payment of equal wages to men and women for the same work; a government bureau for labor statistics; sanitary inspection of mines, factories and dwellings; abolition of the conspiracy and tramp laws, and all class privileges; the government should issue all money without the intervention of banks; the sweating system should be stopped, as well as the tenement house work."

Some of those demands are quite reasonable and should be enforced. They are noticed here merely to show the Socialistic trend of the American working classes. There is not a labor lodge or assembly in the United States where workingmen are not taught the doctrine of Socialism in one form or other; they are reminded that a crisis is at hand; that, owing to the constantly decreasing power of labor, production is being blocked; that machines have supplanted men who are idle, while women and children work. An appeal is made, through labor agitators, to workmen to emancipate themselves by national and

international organization, and thus oppose organized capital by organized labor. The only movement akin to Socialism of which America can be said to be the birthplace, is nationalization of land. Even this may be said to be rather European than American in its source, inasmuch as the notions respecting the origin of land ownership on which the demand for confiscation is based, have clearly reference to the history of European, not of American, land. In the United States there has been no Norman Conquest, there have been no feudal tenures. The land has been acquired in the fairest way by owners who have made the best use of it, and has been purchased not only with the full sanction of the community and under the most sacred guarantee of its laws, but in large measure from the community itself. The vast scheme of agrarian confiscation at first designated as nationalization of land, now veils itself under the designation of single tax, which is perhaps less likely to make the American freeholder take down his rifle. Under the new name, it seems to have many adherents. There are people, it appears not a few, able to persuade themselves that by laying all the taxes on land without the improvements, they can not only extinguish poverty and diffuse universal opulence, but bring about a most blessed change in the whole structure of society. Improvements that are the product of labor they do not propose to tax. What they propose to tax is only the value of the land unimproved or apart from the improvements. They appear to be the victims of a fallacy arising from a confusion of the terms value and price.

This teaching must end in Communism and Anarchy. As Herbert Spencer has recently pointed out:

"If society in its corporate capacity undertakes beneficence as a function; if now in this direction and now in that, the inferior learns by precept enforced by example, that it is a state duty not simply to secure them the unhindered pursuit of happiness, but to furnish them the means of happiness, there is eventually formed amongst the poorer, and especially the least deserving, a fixed belief that if they are not comfortable, the

government is to blame. Not to their own idleness and misdeeds is their misery ascribed, but to the badness of society in not doing its duty to them. What follows? First, there grows up among numbers the theory that social arrangements must be fundamentally changed in such ways that all shall have equal shares of the products of laborthat differences of reward, due to differences of merit, shall be abolished; there comes Communism. And, then, among the very poorest, angered that their vile lives have not brought them all the good things that they desire, there grows up the doctrine that society should be destroyed, and that each man should seize what he likes, and suppress, as Ravachol said, everyone who stands in his way; there comes Anarchism, and a return to the unrestrained struggle for life, as among brutes."

No attempt has been made in this paper to refute the doctrines which have been reviewed. It was not my purpose to do so. But, without entering into a critical examination of Socialism as a theory or practical policy, we may be permitted to ask ourselves the question, "Where is this movement going to end?" "What is likely to

be its ultimate achievement?" One thing is certain, that the movement cannot result in the permanent establishment of Socialism.

State ownership of land and capital would result in a tyranny far worse than the evils it would replace, and would inevitably provoke a revolution. the same time, there can be little doubt that the growth of Socialistic ideas will introduce profound and far-reaching modifications in our industrial system. A large development of state interference in the processes of industry; an increase of factory legislation; a legal eight hours' day; an increase of state monopolies in various branches of industry; the control by the state, not only of the post office, the telegraphs, the railways, but of much of the mechanism of production and distribution besides; all this is possible and, in view of the current tendencies in the industrial world, even probable. Equally probable, and perhaps not wholly to be deprecated, is the change which the progress of the movement must introduce into politics.

It will give social questions precedence over those that are merely political; it will, in all likelihood, abolish mere party distinctions and divide politicians rather according to the social interests which they represent than according to the principles which have hitherto divided them in the scramble for office. This change will not be wholly for evil; if it does not make politics more picturesque, at least it will render them more rational.

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CHAPTER XXII.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

Church going to bear in these movements which are in progress? How can she exert her influence for good in the vicissitudes of these changing times? The answer is: She can guide the movements which are taking place to ends of holiness and peace, as she has done in great crises in the past. She can make herself the light upon the mountain top, illuminating the dark and forbidden paths into which many have been led by the plausible but false teachers of modern social economy.

The great Pontiff, Leo XIII, who is so familiar with the pressing questions of the present day, and so solicitous for the temporal, as well as the spiritual, well-being of mankind, on a recent occasion, in reply to an address of the Colleges of Cardinals, used these touching and memorable words:

"We are in the decline of life; but shall continue to the end to devote ourselves to making the beneficent action of the Church universally felt. need of this," the Holy Father goes on to say, "is great, for all the conceptions of honesty, justice, authority, liberty, social rights, and social duties have been The Church must seek to overthrown. recall the nations by the principles of moral faith; point out the true causes of existing evils; imbue the different classes of society with a feeling of equity and charity, and instill in all an ardor for peace."

It is evidently, then, the wish of the Holy Father, as made known in his frequent utterances on this subject that the Church, that is, bishops, priests and students of social science, should set herself to educate and direct the masses towards better social conditions, and thus aid in bringing about a peaceful solution of the social problem. Much has been done already through the efforts of individuals. As in Germany, as we have seen, that form of Socialism that is irreligious and destructive was first formulated into a system, so there, also, a conservative and Christian form of

Socialism had its origin, and reached a high degree of success mainly through the efforts of a Catholic bishop.

In 1863, Bishop Ketteler of Mayence took up the social question, which was then engaging the attention of Germany; it was just a year before the death of La Salle. In that year he published his work, "The Labor Question and Christianity." In this book he depicted the evils of the existing industrial system as strongly as Marx and La Salle. He ridiculed as scornfully as they the pretense of liberty which was offered to the workingman as a palliation of his distress.

"Liberty to migrate," he writes with scorn, "when he has not bread where he is born; liberty of contract, when the bargain has to be made between a rich man and a starveling; liberty of trades, which draws the products of the country where the workman is badly paid to those where he is better off, and which thus tends to reduce all to the same level of wretchedness. You talk to the workman of self-help, advise him to improve his condition by his own efforts; it is mockery of a man who can hardly make out his daily bread. And

now," concludes Monsignor Ketteler, after a scathing denunciation of modern industrialism, "we have our slave market in every country of Europe, modeled upon a plan sketched by an enlightened anti-Christian liberalism and our humanitarian Free-masonry."

Bishop - Ketteler called upon the Catholics of Germany to unite for the salvation of society and the rescue of the poor. His book became the gospel of a great movement, and his summons called into existence a system of industrial associations which changed the face of Catholic Germany, socially and politically. In 1864 the representatives of the Catholics of Germany met at Mayence, under the presidency of the bishop, and formulated their program of social reform. By the year 1870 the organization was complete. When the Kulturkampf began, M. Bismarck had to attack not merely the priests of the Church, but great social organizations, with which they were thoroughly identified. The associations were all connected with the Church; they had their religious festivals and their patron saints; they were presided over, not by priests, but by laymen of practical ability, and of known fidelity to religion; they included the wealthy inhabitants of each commune as well as the poor; they were open to the members of every Christian church, but they rigidly excluded all democratic Socialists.

In 1870, at the general assembly held at Essen, it was announced that the associations formed under the inspiration of the Church numbered 100,000 master workmen, 80,000 journeymen, 30,000 priests, and 15,000 small farmers, and it was prophesied that within a few years the associates would be reckoned by the hundred thousand; the prediction was more than fulfilled. In 1874 there were 258 Catholic newspapers in Germany, most of them organs of the associations; 150 in Prussia, 77 in Bavaria, and 41 in the rest of Germany.

These Catholic associations reach to every form of industry. There is the Catholic Miners' Association, the Artisans' Association, societies for women workers and domestic servants; but, above all, the Farmers' Union, with its newspapers, its banks, its coöperative

purchase system, and its vast network of affiliated societies all over the empire. All this has been due to the inspiration and guidance of the Church; and with this movement, during its progress, the representatives of the Church have been prominently and effectively identified.

From the undoubted success of this Catholic movement in Germany we, in dealing with the social problem in this country, may learn a profitable lesson. Its solution must rest ultimately with the acceptance of those Christian principles which it is the mission of the Church to inculcate. The care and protection of the poor is the special concern of the Church of God.

It is not surprising that in a country where the representatives of the Church have displayed, as in Germany, such beneficent public activity on behalf of the working classes and the poor, her hold upon the allegiance of the people has been strong enough to defy the attacks of the most powerful, as well as the most astute, statesman of the age.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM OUTSIDE THE CHURCH.

OUTSIDE the Catholic Church, Christian Socialism has already a history. In that history the teachings of Kingsley, Maurice and Hughes in England, of Todt and Stocker in Germany, and of De Laveleye in France and Belgium have a large place.

There are Christian Socialists in the United States; but the movement here is only beginning to take shape. Our periodical press is filled with articles on the question, and from the very general attention bestowed on the subject, this phase of Socialism is certain to be deeply felt in the transforming process that is going on all around us.

Carlyle said some years ago, what every Christian fully understands, that "the beginning and the end of what is the matter with society, is that we have forgotten God." Hence, to set society right it must be restored to a knowledge of God and His laws.

It would be folly to deny that the increasing trend of the age is towards Socialism. It is so, not only on the continent of Europe, but also in England and in this country. No one can be blind to the signs of the times, nor deaf to the audible mutterings of defiance and despair to be heard in many quarters.

"Every ear in court and market
Hears the low, foreboding cry
Of those crises, God's stern winnowers,
From whose feet earth's chaff must fly,"

A different, and let us hope, a more peaceful, crisis than that of which Lowell sang, is upon us. It is the part of wisdom, and our duty, if it is proper to say it, of the students of this Catholic School of America, to prepare for it by seeking to know the real facts and forces at work in our existing industrial system; the nature and aims of contemporary Socialism; and, above all, for each one to contribute his share in making the transition from the old order to the new, tranquil and beneficent.

This, let us not forget: that the Church of God which redressed the evils of society in the past has the power to redress the evils that afflict society in the present, in so far as they can be redressed in this life; and let Socialists remember, that the "great mother of Christendom has a big and generous heart," and that there is no misery, in whatever form it appears, she will not move heaven and earth to take away.

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APPENDIX

ENCYCLICAL LETTER

OF

POPE LEO XIII.

ON THE

CONDITION OF LABOR



TO OUR VENERABLE BRETHREN,
ALL PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, AND
BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC WORLD,
IN GRACE AND COMMUNION WITH THE APOSTOLIC
SEE.

POPE LEO XIII.

VENERABLE BRETHREN,

Health and Apostolic Benediction.

T is not surprising that the spirit of revolutionary change, which has so long been predominant in the nations of the world, should have passed beyond politics and made its influence felt in the cognate field of practical economy. The elements of a conflict are unmistakable: the growth of industry, and the surprising discoveries of science; the changed relations of masters and workmen; the enormous fortunes of individuals, and the poverty of the masses: the increased self-reliance and the closer mutual combination of the working population; and, finally, a general moral deterioration. The momentous seriousness of the present state of things just now fills every mind with painful apprehension; wise men discuss it; practical men propose schemes; popular meetings, legislatures, and sovereign princes, all are occupied with it—and there is nothing which has a deeper hold on public attention.

Therefore, Venerable Brethren, as on former occasions, when it seemed opportune to refute false teaching, We have addressed you in the interests of the Church and of the common weal, and have issued letters on Political Power, on Human Liberty, on the Christian Constitution of the State, and on similar subjects, so now We have thought it useful to speak on the Condition of Labor. It is a matter on which We have touched once or twice already. But in this letter the responsibility of the Apostolic office urges Us to treat the question expressly and at length, in order that there may be no mistake as to the principles which truth and justice dictate for its settlement. The discussion is not easy, nor is it free from danger. It is not easy to define the relative rights and the mutual duties of the wealthy and of the poor, of capital and of labor. And the danger lies in this, that crafty agitators constantly make use of these disputes to pervert men's judgments and to stir up the people to sedition.

But all agree, and there can be no question whatever, that some remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor. The ancient workmen's guilds were destroyed in the last century, and no other organization took their place. Public institutions and the laws have repudiated the ancient religion. Hence, by degrees it has come to pass that workingmen have been given over, isolated and defenseless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. The evil has been increased by rapacious usury, which, although more than once condemned by the Church, is nevertheless under a different form, but with the same guilt, still practiced by avaricious and grasping men. And to this must be added the custom of working by contract, and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor, a yoke little better than slavery itself.

To remedy these evils the Socialists, working on the poor man's envy of the rich, endeavor to destroy private property, and maintain that individual possessions should become the common property of all, to be administered by the state or by municipal bodies. They hold that, by thus transferring property from private persons to the community, the present evil state of things will be set to rights, because each citizen will then have his equal share of whatever there is to enjoy. But their proposals are so clearly futile for all practical purposes, that if they were carried out the workingman himself would be among the first to suffer. Moreover they are emphatically unjust, because they would rob the lawful possessor; bring the state into a sphere that is not its own, and cause complete confusion in the community.

It is surely undeniable that, when a man engages in remunerative labor, the very reason and motive of his work is to obtain property, and to hold it as his own private possession. If one man hires out to another his strength or his industry, he does this for the purpose of receiving in return what is necessary for food and living; he thereby expressly proposes to acquire a full and real right, not only to the remuneration, but also to the disposal of that remuneration, as he pleases. Thus, if he lives sparingly, saves money, and invests his savings for greater security in land, the land in such a case is only his wages in another form; and, consequently, a workingman's little estate thus purchased should be as completely at his own disposal as the wages he receives for his labor. But it is precisely in this power of disposal that ownership consists, whether the property be land or movable goods. The Socialists, therefore, in endeavoring to transfer the possessions of individuals to the community, strike at the

interests of every wage-earner, for they deprive him of the liberty of disposing of his wages, and thus of all hope and possibility of increasing his stock and of bettering his condition in life.

What is of still greater importance, however, is that the remedy they propose is manifestly against justice. every man has by nature the right to possess property as his own. This is one of the chief points of distinction between man and the animal creation. For the brute has no power of selfdirection, but is governed by two chief instincts, which keep his powers alert, move him to use his strength, and determine him to action without the power of choice. These instincts are self-preservation and the propagation of the species. Both can attain their purpose by means of things which are close at hand; beyond their surroundings the brute creation cannot go, for they are moved to action by sensibility alone, and by the things which sense perceives. But with man it is different indeed. He possesses, on the one hand, the full perfection of animal nature, and

therefore he enjoys, at least as much as the rest of the animal race, the fruition of the things of the body. But animality, however perfect, is far from being the whole of humanity, and is indeed humanity's humble handmaid, made to serve and obey. It is the mind, or the reason, which is the chief thing in us who are human beings; it is this which makes a human being human, and distinguishes him essentially and completely from the brute. And on this account, viz., that man alone among animals possesses reason, it must be within his right to have things not merely for temporary and momentary use, as other living beings have them, but in stable and permanent possession; he must have not only things which perish in the using, but also those which, though used, remain for use in the future.

This becomes still more clearly evident if we consider man's nature a little more deeply. For man, comprehending by the power of his reason things innumerable, and joining the future with the present — being, moreover, the

master of his own acts-governs himself by the foresight of his counsel, under the eternal law and the power of God, Whose Providence governs all things; wherefore it is in his power to exercise his choice not only on things which regard his present welfare, but also on those which will be for his advantage in time to come. Hence, man not only can possess the fruits of the earth, but also the earth itself; for of the products of the earth he can make provision for the future. Man's needs do not die out. but recur; satisfied to-day, they demand new supplies to-morrow. Nature, therefore, owes to man a storehouse that shall never fail the daily supply of his daily wants - and this he finds only in the inexhaustible fertility of the earth.

Nor must we, at this stage, have recourse to the state. Man is older than the state; and he holds the right of providing for the life of his body prior to the formation of any state. And to say that God has given the earth to the use and enjoyment of the universal human race is not to deny that there can be private property. For God has

granted the earth to mankind in general; not in the sense that all without distinction can deal with it as they please, but rather that no part of it has been assigned to any one in particular, and that the limits of private possession have been left to be fixed by man's own industry and the laws of individual peoples. Moreover, the earth, though divided among private owners, ceases not thereby to minister to the needs of all; for there is no one who does not live on what the land brings forth. Those who do not possess the soil, contribute their labor; so that it may be truly said that all human subsistence is derived either from labor on one's own land, or from some laborious industry which is paid for either in the produce of the land itself or in that which is exchanged for what the land brings forth.

Here, again, we have another proof that private ownership is according to nature's law. For that which is required for the preservation of life, and for life's well-being, is produced in great abundance by the earth, but not until man has brought it into cultivation and lavished upon it his care and skill. Now, when man thus spends the industry of his mind and the strength of his body in procuring the fruits of nature, by that act he makes his own that portion of nature's field which he cultivates—that portion on which he leaves, as it were, the impress of his own personality; and it cannot but be just that he should possess that portion as his own, and should have a right to keep it without molestation.

These arguments are so strong and convincing that it seems surprising that certain obsolete opinions should now be revived in opposition to what is here laid down. We are told that it is right for private persons to have the use of the soil and the fruits of their land, but that it is unjust for anyone to possess as owner either the land on which he has built or the estate which he has cultivated. But those who assert this do not perceive that they are robbing man of what his own labor has produced. For the soil which is tilled and cultivated with toil and skill utterly changes

its condition; it was wild before, it is now fruitful; it was barren, and now it brings forth in abundance. That which has thus altered and improved it becomes so truly part of itself as to be in great measure indistinguishable and inseparable from it. Is it just that the fruit of a man's sweat and labor should be enjoyed by another? As effects follow their cause, so it is just and right that the results of labor should belong to him who has labored.

With reason, therefore, the common opinion of mankind, little affected by the few dissentients who have maintained the opposite view, has found in the study of nature, and in the law of nature herself, the foundation of the division of property, and has consecrated by the practice of all ages the principle of private ownership, as being preeminently in conformity with human nature and as conducing, in the most unmistakable manner, to the peace and tranquility of human life. The same principle is confirmed and enforced by the civil laws - laws which, as long as they are just, derive their binding force

from the law of nature. The authority of the Divine Law adds its sanction, forbidding us in the gravest terms even to covet that which is another's:—"Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife; nor his house, nor his field, nor his manservant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything which is his."

The rights here spoken of, belonging to each individual man, are seen in a much stronger light if they are considered in relation to man's social and domestic obligations.

In choosing a state of life, it is indisputable that all are at full liberty either to follow the counsel of Jesus Christ as to virginity, or to enter into the bonds of marriage. No human law can abolish the natural and primitive right of marriage, or in any way limit the chief and principal purpose of marriage, ordained by God's authority from the beginning: "Increase and multiply." Thus we have the family; the "society" of a man's own household; a society limited indeed in numbers, but

¹ Deuteronomy, v, 21.

² Genesis i, 28.

a true "society," anterior to every kind of state or nation, with rights and duties of its own, totally independent of the commonwealth.

That right of property, therefore, which has been proved to belong naturally to individual persons, must also belong to a man in his capacity of head of a family; nay, such a person must possess this right so much the more clearly in proportion as his position multiplies his duties. For it is a most sacred law of nature that a father must provide food and all necessaries for those whom he has begotten; and, similarly, nature dictates that a man's children. who carry on, as it were, and continue his own personality, should be provided by him with all that is needful to enable them honorably to keep themselves from want and misery in the uncertainties of this mortal life. Now, in no other way can a father effect this except by the ownership of profitable property, which he can transmit to his children by inheritance. A family, no less than a state, is, as We have said, a true society, governed by a power within

itself, that is to say, by the father. Wherefore, provided the limits be not transgressed which are prescribed by the very purposes for which it exists, the family has at least equal rights with the state in the choice and pursuit of those things which are needful to its preservation and its just liberty.

We say, at least equal rights; for since the domestic household is anterior both in idea and in fact to the gathering of men into a commonwealth, the former must necessarily have rights and duties which are prior to those of the latter, and which rest more immediately on nature. If the citizens of a state—that is to say, the families—on entering into association and fellowship, experienced, at the hands of the state, hindrance instead of help, and found their rights attacked instead of being protected, such association were rather to be repudiated than sought after.

The idea then, that the civil government should, at its own discretion, penetrate and pervade the family and the household, is a great and pernicious mistake. True, if a family finds itself in great

difficulty, utterly friendless, and without prospect of help, it is right that extreme necessity be met by public aid; for each family is a part of the commonwealth. In like manner, if within the walls of the household there occur grave disturbance of mutual rights, the public power must interfere to force each party to give the other what is due; for this is not to rob citizens of their rights, but justly and properly to safeguard and strengthen them. But the rulers of the state must go no further; nature bids them stop here. Paternal authority can neither be abolished by the state, nor absorbed; for it has the same source as human life itself. "The child belongs to the father," and is, as it were, the continuation of the father's personality; and, to speak with strictness, the child takes its place in civil society not in its own right, but in its quality as a member of the family in which it is begotten. And it is for the very reason that "the child belongs to the father" that, as St. Thomas of Aquin says, "before it attains the use of free will, it is in the power and care of its parents." The Socialists, therefore, in setting aside the parent and introducing the providence of the state, act against natural justice, and threaten the very existence of family life.

And such interference is not only unjust, but it is quite certain to harass and disturb all classes of citizens and to subject them to odious and intolerable slavery. It would open the door to envy, to evil speaking, and to quarreling; the sources of wealth would themselves run dry, for no one would have any interest in exerting his talents or his industry; and that ideal equality of which so much is said would in reality be the leveling down of all to the same condition of misery and dishonor.

Thus it is clear that the main tenet of Socialism, the community of goods, must be utterly rejected; for it would injure those whom it is intended to benefit, it would be contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and it would introduce confusion and disorder into the commonwealth. Our first and most fundamental princi-

¹ St. Thomas, "Summa Theologica," 2a 2æ Q. x. Art. 12.

ple, therefore, when we undertake to alleviate the condition of the masses, must be the inviolability of private property. This laid down, We go on to show where we must find the remedy that we seek.

We approach the subject with confidence and in the exercise of the rights which belong to Us. For no practical solution of this question will ever be found without the assistance of Religion and of the Church. It is We who are the chief guardian of Religion and the chief dispenser of what belongs to the Church, and We must not by silence neglect the duty which lies upon Us. Doubtless this most serious question demands the attention and the efforts of others besides Ourselves-of the rulers of states, of employers of labor, of the wealthy, and of the working population themselves for whom We plead. But We affirm without hesitation that all the striving of men will be vain if they leave out the Church. It is the Church that proclaims from the Gospel those teachings by which the conflict can be put an end to, or at the least made far less bitter; the Church uses its efforts not only to enlighten the mind, but to direct by its precepts the life and conduct of men; the Church improves and ameliorates the condition of the workingman by numerous useful organizations; does its best to enlist the services of all ranks in discussing and endeavoring to meet, in the most practical way, the claims of the working classes; and acts on the decided view that for these purposes recourse should be had, in due measure and degree, to the help of the law and of state authority.

Let it be laid down, in the first place, that humanity must remain as it is. It is impossible to reduce human society to a level. The Socialists may do their utmost, but all striving against nature is vain. There naturally exist among mankind innumerable differences of the most important kind; people differ in capability, in diligence, in health, and in strength; and unequal fortune is a necessary result of inequality in condition. Such inequality is far from being disadvantageous either to individuals or to the community; social

and public life can only go on by the help of various kinds of capacity and the playing of many parts; and each man, as a rule, chooses the part which peculiarly suits his case. As regards bodily labor, even had man never fallen from the state of innocence, he would not have been wholly unoccupied; but that which would then have been his free choice and his delight, became afterwards compulsory, and the painful expiation of his sin. "Cursed be the earth in thy work; in thy labor thou shalt eat of it all the days of thy life."

In like manner, the other pains and hardships of life will have no end or cessation on this earth; for the consequences of sin are bitter and hard to bear, and they must be with man as long as life lasts. To suffer and to endure, therefore, is the lot of humanity; let men try as they may, no strength and no artifice will ever succeed in banishing from human life the ills and troubles which beset it. If any there are who pretend differently—who hold out to a hard-pressed people, freedom

¹ Genesis iii, 17.

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from pain and trouble, undisturbed repose, and constant enjoyment—they cheat the people and impose upon them, and their lying promises will only make the evil worse than before. There is nothing more useful than to look at the world as it really is, and at the same time to look elsewhere for a remedy to its troubles.

The great mistake that is made in the matter now under consideration, is to possess one's self of the idea that class is naturally hostile to class; that rich and poor are intended by nature to live at war with one another. So irrational and so false is this view, that the exact contrary is the truth. Just as the symmetry of the human body is the result of the disposition of the members of the body, so in a state it is ordained by nature that these two classes should exist in harmony and agreement, and should, as it were, fit into one another, so as to maintain the equilibrium of the body politic. Each requires the other; capital cannot do without labor, nor labor without capital. Mutual agreement results in pleasantness and good order; perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and outrage.

Now, in preventing such strife as this, and in making it impossible, the efficacy of Christianity is marvelous and manifold. First of all, there is nothing more powerful than Religion (of which the Church is the interpreter and guardian) in drawing rich and poor together, by reminding each class of its duties to the other, and especially of the duties of Thus Religion teaches the justice. laboring man and the workman to carry out honestly and well all equitable agreements freely made; never to injure capital, or to outrage the person of an employer; never to employ violence in representing his own cause, or to engage in riot or disorder; and to have nothing to do with men of evil principles, who work upon the people with artful promises, and raise foolish hopes which usually end in disaster and in repentance when too late.

Religion teaches the rich man and the employer that their work people are not their slaves; that they must

respect in every man his dignity as a man and as a Christian; that labor is nothing to be ashamed of, if we listen to right reason and Christian philosophy, but is an honorable employment, enabling a man to sustain his life in an upright and creditable way; and that it is shameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels to make money by, or to look upon them merely as so much muscle or physical power. Thus, again, Religion teaches that, as among the workman's concerns are Religion herself and things spiritual and mental, the employer is bound to see that he has time for the duties of piety; that he be not exposed to corrupting influences and dangerous occasions; and that he be not led away to neglect his home and family or to squander his wages.

Then, again, the employer must never tax his work people beyond their strength, nor employ them in work unsuited to their sex or age. His great and principal obligation is to give to everyone that which is just. Doubtless before we can decide whether wages are adequate, many things have to be considered; but rich men and masters should remember this: that to exercise pressure for the sake of gain upon the indigent and the destitute, and to make one's profit out of the need of another, is condemned by all laws, human and divine. To defraud anyone of wages that are his due, is a crime which cries to the avenging anger of Heaven, "Behold, the hire of the laborers . . . which by fraud hath been kept back by you, crieth; and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." 1 Finally, the rich must religiously refrain from cutting down the workman's earnings, either by force, by fraud, or by usurious dealing; and with the more reason because the poor man is weak and unprotected, and because his slender means should be sacred in proportion to their scantiness.

Were these precepts carefully obeyed and followed, would not strife die out and cease?

But the Church, with Jesus Christ for its Master and Guide, aims higher still.

¹ St. James v. 4.

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It lays down precepts yet more perfect, and tries to bind class to class in friend-liness and good understanding. The things of this earth cannot be understood or valued rightly without taking into consideration the life to come, the life that will last forever. Exclude the idea of futurity, and the very notion of what is good and right would perish; nay, the whole system of the universe would become a dark and unfathomable mystery.

The great truth which we learn from nature herself, is also the grand Christian dogma on which Religion rests as on its base: that when we have done with this present life then we shall really begin to live. God has not created us for the perishable and transitory things of earth, but for things heavenly and everlasting; He has given us this world as a place of exile, and not as our true country. Money and the other things which men call good and desirable—we may have them in abundance, or we may want them altogether; as far as eternal happiness is concerned, it is no matter; the only thing that is important is to use them aright.

Jesus Christ, when He redeemed us with plentiful redemption, took not away the pains and sorrows which in such large proportion make up the texture of our mortal life; He transformed them into motives of virtue and occasions of merit: and no man can hope for eternal reward unless he follow in the bloodstained footprints of his Savior. we suffer with Him, we shall also reign with Him." 1 His labors and his sufferings, accepted by His own freewill, have marvelously sweetened all suffering and all labor. And not only by His example, but by His grace and by the hope of everlasting recompense, He has made pain and grief more easy to en-"For that which is at present momentary and light of our tribulation, worketh for us above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory." 2

Therefore, those whom fortune favors are warned that freedom from sorrow

¹ II. Timothy ii, 12.

² II. Corinthians iv, 17.

and abundance of earthly riches are no guarantee of the beatitude that shall never end, but rather the contrary;1 that the rich should tremble at the threatenings of Jesus Christ - threatenings so strange in the mouth of Our Lord; 2 and that a most strict account must be given to the Supreme Judge for all that we possess. The chiefest and most excellent rule for the right use of money is one which the heathen philosophers indicated, but which the Church has traced out clearly, and has not only made known to men's minds, but has impressed upon their lives. It rests on the principle that it is one thing to have a right to the possession of money, and another to have a right to use money as one pleases.

Private ownership, as we have seen, is the natural right of man; and to exercise that right, especially as members of society, is not only lawful, but absolutely necessary. "It is lawful," says St. Thomas of Aquin, "for a man to hold private property; and it is also

¹ St. Matthew xix, 23, 24.

² St. Luke vi, 24, 25.

necessary for the carrying on of human life." 1 But if the question be asked, How must one's possessions be used? the Church replies without hesitation in the words of the same holy Doctor: "Man should not consider his outward possessions as his own, but as common to all, so as to share them without difficulty when others are in need. Whence the Apostle saith, 'Command the rich of this world . . . to give with ease, to communicate." True no one is commanded to distribute to others that which is required for his own necessities and those of his household; nor even to give away what is reasonably required to keep up becomingly his condition in life; "for no one ought to live unbecomingly."3

But when necessity has been supplied, and one's position fairly considered, it is a duty to give to the indigent out of that which is over. "That which remaineth, give alms." ⁴ It is a duty, not of justice (except

^{1 2}a 2æ Q. lxvi. Art. 2.

² 2a 2æ Q. lxv. Art. 2.

³ Ibid. Q. xxxii. Art. 6.

⁴ St. Luke xi, 41.

in extreme cases), but of Christian charity—a duty which is not enforced by human law. But the laws and judgments of men must give place to the laws and judgments of Christ, the true God, Who in many ways urges on His followers the practice of almsgiving—"It is more blessed to give than to receive;" and Who will count a kindness done or refused to the poor as done or refused to Himself—"as long as you did it to one of My least brethren, you did it to Me." ²

Thus, to sum up what has been said: Whoever has received from the Divine bounty a large share of blessings, whether they be external and corporeal or gifts of the mind, has received them for the purpose of using them for the perfecting of his own nature, and, at the same time, that he may employ them, as the minister of God's Providence, for the benefit of others. "He that hath a talent," says St. Gregory the Great, "let him see that he hide it not; he that hath abundance, let him

¹ Acts xx, 35.

² St. Matthew xxv, 40.

arouse himself to mercy and generosity; he that hath art and skill, let him do his best to share the use and utility thereof with his neighbor." ¹

As for those who do not possess the gifts of fortune, they are taught by the Church that, in God's sight poverty is no disgrace, and that there is nothing to be ashamed of in seeking one's bread by labor. This is strengthened by what we see in Christ Himself, "Who whereas He was rich, for our sakes became poor;" 2 and Who, being the Son of God, and God Himself, chose to seem and to be considered the son of a carpenter-nay, did not disdain to spend a great part of his life as a carpenter Himself. "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?"3 From the contemplation of this Divine example it is easy to understand that the true dignity and excellence of man lies in his moral qualities, that is, in virtue; that virtue is the common inheritance of all, equally within the reach of high and

¹ St. Gregory the Great, Hom. ix, in "Evangel," n. 7.

² II. Corinthians viii, 9.

³ St. Mark vi, 3.

low, rich and poor; and that virtue, and virtue alone, wherever found, will be followed by the rewards of everlasting happiness. Nay, God Himself seems to incline more to those who suffer evil; for Jesus Christ calls the poor blessed; 1 He lovingly invites those in labor and grief to come to Him for solace; 2 and he displays the tenderest charity to the lowly and the oppressed. These reflections cannot fail to keep down the pride of those who are well off, and to cheer the spirit of the afflicted; to incline the former to generosity and the latter to tranquil resignation. Thus the separation which pride would make tends to disappear, nor will it be difficult to make rich and poor join hands in friendly concord.

But, if Christian precepts prevail, the two classes will not only be united in the bonds of friendship, but also in those of brotherly love. For they will understand and feel that all men are the children of the common Father, that is, of

 $^{^{1}\,\}mathrm{St.}$ Matthew v, 3: "Blessed are the poor in spirit."

² Ibid. xi, 28: "Come to Me all you that labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you."

God; that all have the same last end, which is God Himself, Who alone can make either men or angels absolutely and perfectly happy; that all and each are redeemed by Jesus Christ and raised to the dignity of children of God, and are thus united in brotherly ties both with each other and with Jesus Christ, "the firstborn among many brethren;" that the blessings of nature and the gifts of grace belong in common to the whole human race, and that to all, except to those that are unworthy, is promised the inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven. "If sons, heirs also; heirs indeed of God, and co-heirs of Christ."1

Such is the scheme of duties and of rights which is put forth to the world by the Gospel. Would it not seem that strife must quickly cease were society penetrated with ideas like these.

But the Church, not content with pointing out the remedy, also applies it. For the Church does its utmost to teach and to train men, and to educate them; and by means of its bishops and clergy it diffuses its salutary teachings far and

¹ Romans viii, 17.

wide. It strives to influence the mind and heart so that all may willingly yield themselves to be formed and guided by the commandments of God. It is precisely in this fundamental and principal matter, on which everything depends, that the Church has a power peculiar to itself. The agencies which it employs are given it for the very purpose of reaching the hearts of men by Jesus Christ Himself and derive their efficiency from God. They alone can touch the innermost heart and conscience, and bring men to act from a motive of duty, to resist their passions and appetites, to love God and their fellowmen with a love that is unique and supreme, and courageously to break down every barrier which stands in the way of a virtuous life.

On this subject We need only recall for one moment the examples written down in history. Of these things there cannot be the shadow of doubt; for instance, that civil society was renovated in every part by the teachings of Christianity; that in the strength of that renewal the human race was lifted up to better things-nay, that it was brought back from death to life, and to so excellent a life that nothing more perfect had been known before, or will come to pass in the ages that have yet to be. Of this beneficent transformation Jesus Christ was at once the first cause and the final purpose; as from Him all came, so to Him all was to be referred. For when, by the light of the Gospel message, the human race came to know the grand mystery of the Incarnation of the Word and the redemption of man, the life of Jesus Christ, God and Man penetrated every race and nation, and impregnated them with His faith, His precepts, and His laws.

And if society is to be cured now, in no other way can it be cured but by a return to the Christian life and Christian institutions. When a society is perishing, the true advice to give to those who would restore it is, to recall it to the principles from which it sprang; for the purpose and perfection of an association is to aim at and to attain that for which it was formed; and its operation should

be put in motion and inspired by the end and object which originally gave it its being. So that to fall away from its primal constitution is disease; to go back to it is recovery. And this may be asserted with the utmost truth both of the state in general and of that body of its citizens, by far the greater number, who sustain life by labor.

Neither must it be supposed that the solicitude of the Church is so occupied with the spiritual concerns of its children as to neglect their interests temporal and earthly. Its desire is that the poor, for example, should rise above poverty and wretchedness, and should better their condition in life; and for this it strives. By the very fact that it calls men to virtue and forms them to its practice, it promotes this in no slight degree. Christian morality, when it is adequately and completely practiced, conduces of itself to temporal prosperity, for it merits the blessing of that God Who is the source of all blessings; it powerfully restrains the lust of possession and the lust of pleasure - twin plagues, which too often make a man without self-restraint miserable in the midst of abundance; ¹ it makes men supply by economy for the want of means, teaching them to be content with frugal living, and keeping them out of the reach of those vices which eat up not merely small incomes, but large fortunes, and dissipate many a goodly inheritance.

Moreover, the Church intervenes directly in the interest of the poor, by setting on foot and keeping up many things which it sees to be efficacious in the relief of poverty. Here again it has always succeeded so well that it has even extorted the praise of its enemies. Such was the ardor of brotherly love among the earliest Christians, that numbers of those who were better off deprived themselves of their possessions in order to relieve their brethren; whence "neither was there anyone needy among them." 2 To the order of Deacons, instituted for that very purpose, was committed by the apostles the charge of the daily distributions;

^{1 &}quot;The root of all evils is cupidity." I. Tim.

²Acts iv, 34.

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and the Apostle Paul, though burdened with the solicitude of all the churches, hesitated not to undertake laborious journeys in order to carry the alms of the faithful to the poorer Christians. Tertullian calls these contributions, given voluntarily by Christians in their assemblies, "deposits of piety;" because, to cite his words, they were employed "in feeding the needy, in burying them, in the support of boys and girls destitute of means and deprived of their parents, in the care of the aged, and in the relief of the ship-wrecked." 1

Thus by degrees came into existence the patrimony which the Church has guarded with religious care as the inheritance of the poor. Nay, to spare them the shame of begging, the common Mother of rich and poor has exerted herself to gather together funds for the support of the needy. The Church has stirred up everywhere the heroism of charity, and has established congregations of religious and many other useful institutions for help and

^{1 &}quot;Apologia Secunda," xxxix.

mercy, so that there might be hardly any kind of suffering which was not visited and relieved. At the present day there are many who, like the heathen of old, blame and condemn the Church for this beautiful charity. They would substitute in its place a system of state organized relief. But no human methods will ever supply for the devotion and self-sacrifice of Christian charity. Charity, as a virtue, belongs to the Church; for it is no virtue unless it is drawn from the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ; and he who turns his back on the Church cannot be near to Christ.

It cannot, however, be doubted that to attain the purpose of which We treat, not only the Church, but all human means, must conspire. All who are concerned in the matter must be of one mind and must act together. It is in this as in the Providence which governs the world, results do not happen save where all the causes coöperate.

Let us now, therefore, inquire what part the state should play in the work of remedy and relief.

By the state We here understand, not the particular form of government which prevails in this or that nation, but the state as rightly understood; that is to say, any government conformable in its institutions to right reason and natural law, and to those dictates of the Divine Wisdom which We have expounded in the Encyclical on the Christian Constitution of the State. first duty, therefore, of the rulers of the state, should be to make sure that the laws and institutions, the general character and administration of the commonwealth, shall be such as to produce of themselves public well-being and private prosperity. This is the proper office of wise statesmanship and the work of the heads of the state.

Now, a state chiefly prospers and flourishes by morality, by well-regulated family life, by respect for religion and justice, by the moderation and equal distribution of public burdens, by the progress of the arts and of trade, by the abundant yield of the land; by everything which makes the citizens better and happier. Here, then, it is in the power of a ruler to benefit every order of the state, and amongst the rest to promote in the highest degree the interests of the poor; and this by virtue of his office, and without being exposed to any suspicion of undue interference—for it is the province of the commonwealth to consult for the common good. And the more that is done for the working population by the general laws of the country, the less need will there be to seek for particular means to relieve them.

There is another and a deeper consideration which must not be lost sight of. To the state the interests of all are equal, whether high or low. The poor are members of the national community equally with the rich; they are real component parts, living parts, which make up, through the family, the living body; and it need hardly be said that they are by far the majority. It would be irrational to neglect one portion of the citizens and to favor another; and therefore the public administration must duly and solicitously provide for the welfare and the comfort of the working people,

or else that law of justice will be violated which ordains that each shall have his due. To cite the wise words of St. Thomas of Aquin: "As the part and the whole are in a certain sense identical, the part may in some sense claim what belongs to the whole." Among the many and grave duties of rulers who would do their best for the people, the first and chief is to act with strict justice—with that justice which is called, in the Schools, "distributive"—towards each and every class.

But although all citizens, without exception, can, and ought to, contribute to that common good in which individuals share so profitably to themselves, yet it is not to be supposed that all can contribute in the same way and to the same extent. No matter what changes may be made in forms of government, there will-always be differences and inequalities of condition in the state: Society cannot exist or be conceived without them. Some there must be who dedicate themselves to the work of the commonwealth, who make the laws, who administer jus-

^{1 2}a 2æ Q. lxi. Art 1 and 2.

tice, whose advice and authority govern the nation in times of peace, and defend it in war. Such men clearly occupy the foremost place in the state, and should be held in the foremost estimation, for their work touches most nearly and effectively the general interests of the community. Those who labor at a trade or calling do not promote the general welfare in such a fashion as this; but they do in the most important way benefit the nation, though less directly.

We have insisted that, since it is the end of society to make men better, the chief good that society can be possessed of is virtue. Nevertheless, in all well-constituted states it is a by no means unimportant matter to provide those bodily and external commodities, "the use of which is necessary to virtuous action." And in the provision of material well-being, the labor of the poor, the exercise of their skill and the employment of their strength in the culture of the land and in the workshops of trade, is most efficacious and

¹ St. Thomas of Aquin. "De Regimine Principium." I. cap. 15.

altogether indispensable. Indeed, their coöperation in this respect is so important that it may be truly said that it is only by the labor of the workingman that states grow rich.

Justice, therefore, demands that the interests of the poorer population be carefully watched over by the administration, so that they who contribute so largely to the advantage of the community may themselves share in the benefits they create - that being housed, clothed, and enabled to support life, they may find their existence less hard and more endurable. It follows that whatever shall appear to be conducive to the well-being of those who work, should receive favorable consideration. Let it not be feared that solicitude of this kind will injure any interest; on the contrary, it will be to the advantage of all; for it cannot but be good for the commonwealth to secure from misery those on whom it so largely depends.

We have said that the state must not absorb the individual or the family; both should be allowed free and untrammeled action as far as is consistent with the common good and the interest of others. Nevertheless, rulers should anxiously safeguard the community and all its parts—the community, because the conservation of the community is so emphatically the business of the supreme power, that the safety of the commonwealth is not only the first law, but it is a government's whole reason of existence; and the parts, because both philosophy and the Gospel agree in laying down that the object of the administration of the state should be, not the advantage of the ruler, but the benefit of those over whom he rules. The gift of authority is from God, and is, as it were, a participation of the highest of all sovereignties; and it should be exercised as the power of God is exercised - with a fatherly solicitude which not only guides the whole, but reaches to details as well.

Whenever the general interest of any particular class suffers, or is threatened with evils which can in no other way be met, the public authority must step in to meet them. Now, among the in-

terests of the public, as of private individuals, are these: That peace and good order should be maintained; that family life should be carried on in accordance with God's laws and those of nature; that Religion should be reverenced and obeyed; that a high standard of morality should prevail in public and private life; that the sanctity of justice should be respected, and that no one should injure another with impunity; that the members of the commonwealth should grow up to man's estate strong and robust, and capable, if need be, of guarding and defending their country. If by a strike, or other combination of workmen, there should be imminent danger of disturbance to the public peace; or if circumstances were such that among the laboring population the ties of family life were relaxed; if Religion were found to suffer through the workmen not having time and opportunity to practice it; if in workshops and factories there were danger to morals through the mixing of the sexes or from any occasion of evil; or if employers laid burdens upon the work-

men which were unjust, or degraded them with conditions that were repugnant to their dignity as human beings; finally, if health were endangered by excessive labor, or by work unsuited to sex or age - in these cases, there can be no question that, within certain limits, it would be right to call in the help and authority of the law. The limits must be determined by the nature of the occasion which calls for the law's interference - the principle being this, that the law must not undertake more, or go further, than is required for the remedy of the evil or the removal of the danger.

Rights must be religiously respected wherever they are found; and it is the duty of the public authority to prevent and punish injury, and to protect each one in the possession of his own. Still, when there is question of protecting the rights of individuals, the poor and helpless have a claim to special consideration. The richer population have many ways of protecting themselves, and stand less in need of help from the state; those who are badly off have no

resources of their own to fall back upon, and must chiefly rely upon the assistance of the state. And it is for this reason that wage-earners, who are undoubtedly among the weak and necessitous, should be specially cared for and protected by the commonwealth.

Here, however, it will be advisable to advert expressly to one or two of the more important details. It must be borne in mind that the chief thing to be secured is the safeguarding, by legal enactment and policy, of private property. Most of all is it essential in these times of covetous greed, to keep the multitude within the line of duty; for if all may justly strive to better their condition, yet neither justice nor the common good allows anyone to seize that which belongs to another, or, under the pretext of futile and ridiculous equality, to lay hands on other people's fortunes.

It is most true that by far the larger part of the people who work prefer to improve themselves by honest labor rather than by doing wrong to others. But there are not a few who are imbued with bad principles and are anxious for revolutionary change, and whose great purpose it is to stir up tumult and bring about a policy of violence. The authority of the state should intervene to put restraint upon these disturbers, to save the workmen from their seditious arts, and to protect lawful owners from spoliation.

When work people have recourse to a strike, it is frequently because the hours of labor are too long, or the work too hard, or because they consider their wages insufficient. The grave inconvenience of this not uncommon occurrence should be obviated by public remedial measures; for such paralysis of labor not only affects the masters and their work people, but is extremely injurious to trade, and to the general interests of the public; moreover, on such occasions violence and disorder are generally not far off, and thus it frequently happens that the public peace is threatened. The laws should be beforehand, and prevent these troubles from arising: they should lend their influence and authority to the removal in good time of the causes which lead to conflicts between masters and those whom they employ.

But if the owners of property must be made secure, the workman, too, has property and possessions in which he must be protected; and, first of all, there are his spiritual and mental interests. Life, on earth, however good and desirable in itself, is not the final purpose for which man is created; it is only the way and the means to that attainment of truth, and that practice of goodness, in which the full life of the soul consists. It is the soul which is made after the image and likeness of God; it is in the soul that sovereignty resides, in virtue of which man is commanded to rule the creatures below him, and to use all the earth and the ocean for his profit and advantage. "Fill the earth and subdue it; and rule over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and all living creatures which move upon the earth." 1 In this respect all men are equal; there is no difference between rich and poor, master and

¹ Genesis i, 28.

servant, ruler and ruled, "for the same is lord over all." No man may outrage with impunity that human dignity which God Himself treats with reverence, nor stand in the way of that higher life which is the preparation for the eternal life of Heaven.

Nay, more; a man has here no power over himself. To consent to any treatment which is calculated to defeat the end and purpose of his being is beyond his right; he cannot give up his soul to servitude; for it is not man's own rights which are here in question, but the rights of God, most sacred and inviolable.

From this follows the obligation of the cessation of work and labor on Sundays and certain festivals. This rest from labor is not to be understood as mere idleness; much less must it be an occasion of spending money and of vicious excess, as many would desire it to be; but it should be rest from labor consecrated by Religion. Repose united with religious observance disposes man to forget for a while the business of this

¹ Romans x, 12.

daily life, and to turn his thoughts to heavenly things and to the worship which he so strictly owes to the Eternal Deity. It is this, above all, which is the reason and motive of the Sunday rest; a rest sanctioned by God's great law of the ancient covenant, "Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath Day," and taught to the world by His own mysterious "rest" after the creation of man; "He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had done." 2

If we turn now to things exterior and corporeal, the first concern of all is to save the poor workers from the cruelty of grasping speculators, who use human beings as mere instruments for making money. It is neither justice nor humanity so to grind men down with excessive labor as to stupefy their minds and wear out their bodies. Man's powers, like his general nature, are limited, and beyond these limits he cannot go. His strength is developed and increased by use and exercise, but only

¹ Exod, xx, 8,

² Genesis ii. 2.

on condition of due intermission and proper rest. Daily labor, therefore, must be so regulated that it may not be protracted during longer hours than strength admits. How many and how long the intervals of rest should be, will depend on the nature of the work, on circumstances of time and place, and on the health and strength of the workman. Those who labor in mines and quarries, and in work within the bowels of the earth, should have shorter hours in proportion as their labor is more severe and more trying to health. Then, again, the season of the year must be taken into account; for not unfrequently a kind of labor is easy at one time which at another is intolerable or very difficult.

Finally, work which is suitable for a strong man cannot reasonably be required from a woman or a child. And, in regard to children, great care should be taken not to place them in workshops and factories until their bodies and minds are sufficiently mature. For just as rough weather destroys the buds of spring, so too early an experience of life's hard work blights the young

promise of a child's powers, and makes any real education impossible. Women, again, are not suited to certain trades; for a woman is by nature fitted for home work, and it is that which is best adapted at once to preserve her modesty and to promote the good bringing up of children and the well-being of the family. As a general principle it may be laid down that a workman ought to have leisure and rest in proportion to the wear and tear of his strength; for the waste of strength must be repaired by the cessation of work.

In all agreements between masters and work people there is always the condition, expressed or understood, that there be allowed proper rest for soul and body. To agree in any other sense would be against what is right and just; for it can never be right or just to require on the one side, or to promise on the other, the giving up of those duties which a man owes to his God and to himself.

We now approach a subject of very great importance, and one on which, if extremes are to be avoided, right ideas are absolutely necessary. Wages, we are told, are fixed by free consent; and therefore the employer, when he pays what was agreed upon, has done his part and is not called upon for anything further. The only way, it is said, in which injustice could happen would be if the master refused to pay the whole of the wages, or the workman would not complete the work undertaken; when this happens the state should intervene, to see that each obtains his own, but not under any other circumstances.

This mode of reasoning is by no means convincing to a fair-minded man, for there are important considerations which it leaves out of view altogether. To labor is to exert one's self for the sake of procuring what is necessary for the purposes of life, and most of all for self-preservation. "In the sweat of thy brow thou shall eat bread." Therefore, a man's labor has two notes or characters.

First of all, it is personal; for the exertion of individual power belongs to

¹ Genesis iii, 19.

the individual who puts it forth, employing this power for that personal profit for which it was given.

Secondly, man's labor is necessary; for without the results of labor a man cannot live: and self-conservation is a law of Nature, which it is wrong to disobey. Now if we were to consider labor merely so far as it is personal, doubtless it would be within the workman's right to accept any rate of wages whatever; for in the same way as he is free to work or not, so he is free to accept a small remuneration or even none at all. But this is a mere abstract supposition; the labor of the workingman is not only his personal attribute, but it is necessary; and this makes all the difference. The preservation of life is the bounden duty of each and all, and to fail therein is a crime. It follows that each one has a right to procure what is required in order to live; and the poor can procure it in no other way than by work and wages.

Let it be granted, then, that as a rule, workman and employer should make free agreements, and in particular

should freely agree as to wages; nevertheless, there is a dictate of nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man, that the remuneration must be enough to support the wage-earner in reasonable and frugal comfort. If through necessity or fear of a worse evil, the workman accepts harder conditions because an employer or a contractor will give him no better, he is the victim of force and injustice. In these and similar questions, however - such as, for example, the hours of labor in different trades, the sanitary precautions to be observed in factories and workshops, etc .- in order to supersede undue interference on the part of the state, especially as circumstances, times, and localities differ so widely, it is advisable that recourse be had to societies or boards such as We shall mention presently, or to some other method of safeguarding the interests of wage-earners; the state to be asked for approval and protection.

If a workman's wages be sufficient to enable him to maintain himself, his wife,

and his children in reasonable comfort, he will not find it difficult, if he is a sensible man, to study economy; and he will not fail, by cutting down expenses, to put by a little property: nature and reason would urge him to this. We have seen that this great labor question cannot be solved except by assuming as a principle that private ownership must be held sacred and inviolable. The law, therefore, should favor ownership, and its policy should be to induce as many of the people as possible to become owners.

Many excellent results will follow from this; and first of all, property will certainly become more equitably divided. For the effect of civil change and revolution has been to divide society into two widely differing castes. On the one side there is the party which holds the power because it holds the wealth; which has in its grasp all labor and all trade, which manipulates for its own benefit and its own purposes all the sources of supply, and which is powerfully represented in the councils of the state itself. On the other side there is

the needy and powerless multitude, sore and suffering, and always ready for disturbance. If working people can be encouraged to look forward to obtaining a share in the land, the result will be that the gulf between vast wealth and deep poverty will be bridged over, and the two orders will be brought nearer together. Another consequence will be the greater abundance of the fruits of the earth. Men always work harder and more readily when they work on that which is their own; nay, they learn to love the very soil which yields in response to the labor of their hands, not only food to eat, but an abundance of good things for themselves and those that are dear to them. It is evident how such a spirit of willing labor would add to the produce of the earth and to the wealth of the community. And a third advantage would arise from this: Men would cling to the country in which they were born; for no one would exchange his country for a foreign land if his own afforded him the means of living a tolerable and happy life.

These three important benefits, however, can only be expected on the condition that a man's means be not drained and exhausted by excessive taxation. The right to possess private property is from nature, not from man; and the state has only the right to regulate its use in the interests of the public good, but by no means to abolish it altogether. The state is, therefore, unjust and cruel if, in the name of taxation, it deprives the private owner of more than is just.

In the last place, employers and workmen may themselves effect much in the matter of which We treat, by means of those institutions and organizations which afford opportune assistance to those in need, and which draw the two orders more closely together. Among these may be enumerated: societies for mutual help; various foundations established by private persons for providing for the workman, and for his widow or his orphans, in sudden calamity, in sickness, and in the event of death; and what are called "patronages" or institutions for the care of boys and girls, for

young people, and also for those of more mature age.

The most important of all are workmen's associations; for these virtually include all the rest. History attests what excellent results were effected by the artificers' guilds of a former day. They were the means not only of many advantages to the workmen, but in no small degree of the advancement of art, as numerous monuments remain to prove. Such associations should be adapted to the requirements of the age in which we live-an age of greater instruction of different customs, and of more numerous requirements in daily life. It is gratifying to know that there are actually in existence not a few societies of this nature, consisting either of workmen alone or of workmen and employers together; but it were greatly to be desired that they should multiply and become more effective. We have spoken of them more than once; but it will be well to explain here how much they are needed, to show that they exist by their own right, and to enter into their organization and their work.

The experience of his own weakness urges man to call in help from without. We read in the pages of Holy Writ: "It is better that two should be together than one; for they have the advantage of their society. If one fall he shall be supported by the other. Woe to him that is alone, for when he falleth he hath none to lift him up."1 And further: "A brother that is helped by his brother is like a strong city." 2 It is this natural impulse which unites men in civil society; and it is this also which makes them band themselves together in associations of citizen with citizen; associations which, it is true, cannot be called societies in the complete sense of the word, but which are societies nevertheless.

These lesser societies and the society which constitutes the state, differ in many things, because their immediate purpose and end is different. Civil society exists for the common good, and therefore is concerned with the interests of all in general, and with individual

¹ Ecclesiastes iv, 9-10.

² Proverbs xviii, 19.

interests in their due place and proportion. Hence it is called public society, because by its means, as St. Thomas of Aguin says, "Men communicate with one another in the setting up of a commonwealth." 1 But the societies which are found in the bosom of the state are called private, and justly so, because their immediate purpose is the private advantage of the associates. "Now a private society," says St. Thomas again, "is one which is formed for the purpose of carrying out private business; as when two or three enter into a partnership with the view of trading in conjunction." 2

Particular societies, then, although they exist within the state, and are each a part of the state, nevertheless cannot be prohibited by the state absolutely and as such. For to enter into "society" of this kind is the natural right of man; and the state must protect natural rights, not destroy them; and if it forbids its citizens to form associations, it contradicts the

2 Ibid.

^{1 &}quot;Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et Religionem." Cap. II.

very principle of its own existence; for both they and it exist in virtue of the same principle, viz., the natural propensity of man to live in society.

There are times, no doubt, when it is right that the law should interfere to prevent association; as when men join together for purposes which are evidently bad, unjust, or dangerous to the state. In such cases the public authority may justly forbid the formation of associations, and may dissolve them when they already exist. But every precaution should be taken not to violate the rights of individuals and not to make unreasonable regulations under the pretense of public benefit. For laws only bind when they are in accordance with right reason, and therefore with the eternal law of God.1

And here we are reminded of the confraternities, societies, and religious orders, which have arisen by the Church's authority and the piety of the

^{1&}quot; Human law is law only in virtue of its accordance with right reason: and thus it is manifest that it flows from the eternal law. And in so far as it deviates from right reason it is called an unjust law; in such case it is not law at all, but rather a species of violence."—St. Thomas of Aquin, "Summa Theoligica," 1a 2æ Q. xcii. Art. 3."

Christian people. The annals of every nation down to our own times testify to what they have done for the human race. It is indisputable on grounds of reason alone, that such associations, being perfectly blameless in their objects, have the sanction of the law of nature. On their religious side they rightly claim to be responsible to the The administrators of Church alone. the state, therefore, have no rights over them, nor can they claim any share in their management; on the contrary, it is the state's duty to respect and cherish them, and, if necessary, to defend them from attack. It is notorious that a very different course has been followed, more especially in our own times. In many places the state has laid violent hands on these communities, and committed manifold injustice against them; it has placed them under the civil law, taken away their rights as corporate bodies, and robbed them of their property. In such property the Church had her rights, each member of the body had his or her rights, and there were also the rights of those who had founded or endowed 190

them for a definite purpose, and of those for whose benefit and assistance they existed. Wherefore We cannot refrain from complaining of such spoliation as unjust and fraught with evil results; and with the more reason because, at the very time when the law proclaims that association is free to all, We see that Catholic societies, however peaceable and useful, are hindered in every way, whilst the utmost freedom is given to men whose objects are at once hurtful to religion and dangerous to the state.

Associations of every kind, and especially those of workingmen, are now far more common than formerly. In regard to many of these there is no need at present to inquire whence they spring, what are their objects, or what means they use. But there is a good deal of evidence which goes to prove that many of these societies are in the hands of invisible leaders, and are managed on principles far from compatible with Christianity and the public well-being; and that they do their best to get into their hands the whole field of labor and

to force workmen either to join them or to starve. Under these circumstances Christian workmen must do one of two things; either join associations in which their religion will be exposed to peril, or form associations among themselves—unite their forces and courageously shake off the yoke of an unjust and intolerable oppression. No one who does not wish to expose man's chief good to extreme danger will hesitate to say that the second alternative must by all means be adopted.

Those Catholics are worthy of all praise—and there are not a few—who, understanding what the times require, have, by various enterprises and experiments, endeavored to better the condition of the working people without any sacrifice of principle. They have taken up the cause of the workingman, and have striven to make both families and individuals better off; to infuse the spirit of justice into the mutual relations of employer and employed; to keep before the eyes of both classes the precepts of duty and the laws of the Gospel—that Gospel which, by incul-

cating self-restraint, keeps men within the bounds of moderation, and tends to establish harmony among the divergent interests and various classes which compose the state. It is with such ends in view that We see men of eminence meeting together for discussion, for the promotion of united action, and for practical work. Others, again, strive to unite working people of various kinds into associations, help them with their advice and their means, and enable them to obtain honest and profitable work. The bishops, on their part, bestow their ready good will and support: and with their approval and guidance many members of the clergy, both secular and regular, labor assiduously on behalf of the spiritual and mental interests of the members of associations.

And there are not wanting Catholics possessed of affluence who have, as it were, cast in their lot with the wage-earners, and who have spent large sums in founding and widely spreading Benefit and Insurance Societies, by means of which the work-

ingman may without difficulty acquire by his labor not only many present advantages, but also the certainty of honorable support in time to come. How much this multiplied and earnest activity has benefited the community at large, is too well known to require Us to dwell upon it. We find in it the grounds of the most cheering hope for the future; provided that the associations We have described continue to grow and spread, and are well and wisely administered. Let the state watch over these societies of citizens united together in the exercise of their right; but let it not thrust itself into their peculiar concerns and their organization; for things move and live by the soul within them, and they may be killed by the grasp of a hand from without.

In order that an association may be carried on with unity of purpose and harmony of action, its organization and government must be firm and wise. All such societies being free to exist, have the further right to adopt such rules and organization as may best conduce to the

attainment of their objects. We do not deem it possible to enter into definite details on the subject of organization; this must depend on national character, on practice and experience, on the nature and scope of the work to be done, on the magnitude of the various trades and employments, and on other circumstances of fact and of time—all of which must be carefully weighed.

Speaking summarily, we may lay it down as a general and perpetual law, that workmen's associations should be so organized and governed as to furnish the best and most suitable means for attaining what is aimed at, that is to say, for helping each individual member to better his condition to the utmost in body, mind, and property. It is clear that they must pay special and principal attention to piety and morality, and that their internal discipline must be directed precisely by these considerations; otherwise they entirely lose their special character, and come to be very little better than those societies which take no account of Religion at all. What

advantage can it be to a workman to obtain by means of a society all that he requires, and to endanger his soul for want of spiritual food? "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?"1 This, as our Lord teaches, is the note or character that distinguishes the Christian from the heathen. "After all these things do the heathens seek. . Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you."2 Let our associations, then, look first and before all to God; let religious instruction have therein a foremost place, each one being carefully taught what is his duty to God, what to believe, what to hope for, and how to work out his salvation; and let all be warned and fortified with especial solicitude against wrong opinions and false teaching. Let the workingman be urged and led to the worship of God, to the earnest practice of religion, and, among other things, to the sanctification of Sundays

¹ St. Matthew xvi, 26.

² St. Matthew vi. 32-33.

and festivals. Let him learn to reverence and love Holy Church, the common mother of us all; and so to obey the precepts and to frequent the Sacraments of the Church, those Sacraments being the means ordained by God for obtaining forgiveness of sin and for leading a holy life.

The foundations of the organization being laid in Religion, We next go on to determine the relations of the members one to another, in order that they may live together in concord and go on prosperously and successfully. The offices and charges of the society should be distributed for the good of the society itself, and in such manner that difference in degree or position should not interfere with unanimity and good will. Office-bearers should be appointed with prudence and discretion, and each one's charge should be carefully marked out; thus no member will suffer wrong. Let the common funds be administered with the strictest honesty, in such way that a member receive assistance in proportion to his necessities. The rights and duties of em-

ployers should be the subject of careful consideration as compared with the rights and duties of the employed. If it should happen that either a master or a workman deemed himself injured, nothing would be more desirable than that there should be a committee composed of honest and capable men of the association itself, whose duty it should be, by the laws of the association, to decide the dispute. Among the purposes of a society should be to try to arrange for a continuous supply of work at all times and seasons; and to create a fund from which the members may be helped in their necessities, not only in cases of accident, but also in sickness, old age and misfortune.

Such rules and regulations, if obeyed willingly by all, will sufficiently insure the well-being of poor people; whilst such mutual associations among Catholics are certain to be productive, in no small degree, of prosperity to the state. It is not rash to conjecture the future from the past. Age gives way to age, but the events of one century are wonderfully like those of another; for they

are directed by the Providence of God, Who overrules the course of history in accordance with His purposes in creating the race of man. We are told that it was cast as a reproach on the Christians of the early ages of the Church, that the greater number of them had to live by begging or by labor. Yet, destitute as they were of wealth and influence, they ended by winning over to their side the favor of the rich and the goodwill of the powerful. They showed themselves industrious, laborious, and peaceful, men of justice, and, above all, men of brotherly love. In the presence of such a life and such an example prejudice disappeared, the tongue of malevolence was silenced, and the lying traditions of ancient superstition yielded little by little to Christian truth.

At this moment the condition of the working population is the question of the hour; and nothing can be of higher interest to all classes of the state than that it should be rightly and reasonably decided. But it will be easy for Christian workingmen to decide it

right if they form associations, choose wise guides, and follow the same path which with so much advantage to themselves and the commonwealth was trod by their fathers before them. Prejudice, it is true, is mighty, and so is the love of money; but if the sense of what is just and right be not destroyed by depravity of heart, their fellow-citizens are sure to be won over to a kindly feeling towards men whom they see to be so industrious and so modest, who so unmistakably prefer honesty to lucre, and the sacredness of duty to all other considerations.

And another great advantage would result from the state of things We are describing; there would be so much more hope and possibility of recalling to a sense of their duty those workingmen who have either given up their faith altogether, or whose lives are at variance with its precepts. These men, in most cases, feel that they have been fooled by empty promises and deceived by false appearances. They cannot but perceive that their grasping employers too often treat them with the greatest

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inhumanity and hardly care for them beyond the profit their labor brings; and if they belong to an association it is probably one in which there exists, in place of charity and love, that intestine strife which always accompanies unresigned and irreligious poverty. Broken in spirit and worn down in body, how many of them would gladly free themselves from this galling slavery! But human respect, or the dread of starvation, makes them afraid to take the step. To such as these Catholic associations are of incalculable service, helping them out of their difficulties, inviting them to companionship, and receiving the repentant to a shelter in which they may securely trust.

We have now laid before you, Venerable Brethren, who are the persons, and what are the means, by which this most difficult question must be solved. Every one must put his hand to the work which falls to his share, and that at once and immediately, lest the evil which is already so great may by delay become absolutely beyond remedy.

Those who rule the state must use the law and the institutions of the country; masters and rich men must remember their duty; the poor, whose interests are at stake, must make every lawful and proper effort; and since Religion alone, as We said at the beginning, can destroy the evil at its root, all men must be persuaded that the primary thing needful is to return to real Christianity, in the absence of which all the plans and devices of the wisest will be of little avail.

As far as regards the Church, its assistance will never be wanting, be the time or the occasion what it may; and it will intervene with the greater effect in proportion as its liberty of action is the more unfettered: let this be carefully noted by those whose office it is to provide for the public welfare. Every minister of holy Religion must throw into the conflict all the energy of his mind and all the strength of his endurance; with your authority, Venerable Brethren, and by your example, they must never cease to urge upon all men

of every class, upon the high as well as the lowly, the Gospel doctrines of Christian life; by every means in their power they must strive for the good of the people; and, above all, they must earnestly cherish in themselves, and try to arouse in others, charity, the mistress and queen of virtues. For the happy results we all long for must be chiefly brought about by the plenteous outpouring of charity; of that true Christian charity which is the fulfilling of the whole Gospel law, which is always ready to sacrifice itself for others' sake, and which is man's surest antidote against worldly pride and immoderate love of self; that charity whose office is described and whose Godlike features are drawn by the Apostle St. Paul in these words: "Charity is patient, is kind . . . seeketh not her own . . suffereth all things . . . endureth all things." 1

On each one of you, Venerable Brethren, and on your clergy and people, as an earnest of God's mercy and a mark of our affection, We lovingly

¹ I. Corinthians xiii, 4-7.

in the Lord bestow the Apostolic benediction.

Given at St. Peter's, in Rome, the fifteenth day of May, 1891, the four-teenth year of Our Pontificate.

LEO XIII., POPE.





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